FD-36 (Rev. 3-13-56)

F B I

Date: 12/31/56

Transmit the following message via Air-tel Registered Mail

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: SAC, NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-42711)

b2
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[redacted]

SM - ISL

OO - PH

The captioned individual is the subject of a security investigation in the Philadelphia Office.

On 10/12/56, CS [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, and whose identity should be protected, advised SA [redacted] that individual who has since been identified as [redacted] attended a Young Socialist League meeting in Philadelphia on 10/7/56. [redacted] has been described by [redacted] as a union organizer, probably the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. He is a white male, about [redacted] or [redacted] years old, dark hair combed back, high forehead, smart talker, [redacted].

On 11/14/56, [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past and who should be protected, advised SA JOHN F. PHELAN, Jr., that [redacted] attended a YSL meeting on 10/21/56. Informant described [redacted] as a union organizer from

7 - NEW YORK (REGISTERED MAIL)
2 - 100- ([redacted])
1 - 100-80693 (YSL)
1 - 100- (SP)
1 - 100-6680 (ISL)
1 - 100-111535 ([redacted])
1 - 100-128692 ([redacted])
9 - PHILADELPHIA
1 - 100-42711
1 - 100-31450 (YSL)
1 - 100-15348 (SP)
1 - 100-7121 (ISL)
1 - 100-42106 ([redacted])
1 - 100-38083 ([redacted])
1 - [redacted]
1 -
1 -

97

SEARCHED ... INDEXED
SERIALIZED ... FILED

JFP:jag
(16)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

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PH 100-42711

Brooklyn, N.Y. [redacted] requested the individuals at the meeting on 10/21/56 to hold a discussion on Marxism "before he returned to New York." [redacted] reportedly met [redacted] (NY file 100-111535), [redacted] of the YSL in Philadelphia, while both were in military service in England.

[redacted], according to [redacted], had [redacted] in early November 1956, and at that time was working in the Philadelphia area temporarily. [redacted] is also very friendly with [redacted] (NY file 100-128692), a student at University of Pennsylvania and YSL [redacted] in Philadelphia.

[redacted] has attended several YSL meetings in Philadelphia during last three months. At the present time he is attempting to [redacted]. It is believed that this could cause the informant to lose favor in the YSL. It is further believed that [redacted] may be a member of the Socialist Party Youth in the New York City or Brooklyn, N.Y., area.

Due to circumstances involving [redacted] and his relations with the YSL leadership, NY is requested to furnish any available information concerning [redacted]. Also request New York to advise if Socialist Party in NYC is making any efforts to infiltrate YSL in that area due to possible merger of ISL and Socialist Party.

For info of NY, [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on 12/30/56 that [redacted] appears to be concerned with causing dissension in YSL in Philadelphia.

NY requested to expedite leads.

HENNRICH

1/11/57

AIRTEL

TO: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-42711)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-130777)

SUBJECT: [redacted]
SM-ISL
(CO: PHILADELPHIA)

b2
b6
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Reurairtel, 12/31/56.

NY indices contain numerous references to name [redacted], however, on basis of descriptive information in reairtel, only the following are believed to be possibly identical with subject:

On 9/8/54, [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that one [redacted], not further identified, was one of [redacted] individuals from NYC who attended a National Conference of the World Socialist Party at Detroit, Michigan, on 9/4 and 5/54. The informant stated that at the first session [redacted] was elected to the office of [redacted] of the Conference. (NY 100-0-97304)

On 7/30/56, former [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished a list of names to whom letters had been sent announcing a YSL meeting on 8/3/56. It was the informant's opinion that this list constituted the NY Unit YSL mailing list. One of the names on this list was [redacted], NY. (NY 100-80693-1156)

3 - Philadelphia (SM)
(2 - 100-42711)
(1 - 100-31450) (YSL)
(1 - 100-7121) (ISL)
(1 - 100-15348) (SP)
1 - NY 100-80693 (YSL) (7-1)
2 - NY 100-49738 (SP) (7-3)
1 - NY 100-6680 (ISL) (7-1)
1 - NY 100-130777
CHM:KLD
(10)

100-49738-98
SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
7-3 JAN 11
FBI - NEW YORK

NY 100-130777

Regarding the unity between the YSL and the Socialist Party (SP), the following is noted:

On 9/3/56, [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available minutes of the National Action Committee (NAC) of the YSL meeting on 7/17/56. At this meeting, the NAC adopted the following resolution:

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"The YSL NAC has varying estimates of the possibility of unity with the SP, although we are all agreed that such a unity is desirable. We believe that the immediate perspective is, in any case, a modest one; that we should try to involve SP'ers as speakers, start joint demonstrations on issues such as Poznan, that we should intensify our personal contacts with SP'ers, etc. We say this in the context of feeling that it is unlikely that the SP left will take over, i.e., we are speaking of unity with an SP of the present type. In addition, we feel that we should pace an emphasis upon obtaining organizational recognition from the SP in these joint activities." (NY 100-80693-1B342) RUC.

KELLY

AIRTEL

SAC
DIV. 1
DIV. 2
DIV. 3
DIV. 4
SEC. 1
SEC. 2
SEC. 3
SEC. 4
SEC. 5
SEC. 6
SEC. 7 - 0
SEC. 8
SEC. 9
SEC. 10
SEC. 11
SEC. 12
SEC. 13
SEC. 14
SEC. 15
SEC. 16
SEC. 17
SEC. 18
SEC. 19
SEC. 20
V 7-3

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-424101) DATE: 1/22/57

FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-42651)

SUBJECT: ATTEMPTS OF CPUSA TO FORM
A BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION,
PHILADELPHIA DIVISION
IS - C

9 - Bureau (Registered Mail)
(3 - 100-424101)
(1 - CP ORGANIZATION - 100-3-69)
(1 - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY)
(1 - INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE)
(1 - YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE)
(1 - SOCIALIST PARTY)
(1 - FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION)
9 - New York (Registered Mail)
(1 - CP ORGANIZATION)
(1 - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY)
(1 - INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE)
(1 - YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE)
(1 - ~~SOCIALIST PARTY~~)
(1 - FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION)
(1 - AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE)
(1 - ALBERT E. BLUMBERG)
(1 - A. J. MUSTE)
16 - Philadelphia
(1 - 100-42651
(1 - ALBERT E. BLUMBERG - 100-8548)
(1 - JOSEPH DAVIDSON - 100-28217)
(1 - A. J. MUSTE - 100-1835)
(1 - [redacted] - 100-38083)
(1 - [redacted] - 100-41152)
(1 - JOSEPH ROBERTS - 100-38020)
(1 - AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE - 100-4899)
(1 - FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION - 100-40)
(1 - INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE - 100-7121)
(1 - SOCIALIST PARTY - 100-15348)
(1 - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY - 100-2036)
(1 - THIRD CAMP - 100-41694)
(1 - YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE - 100-31450)
(1 - CINAL - 100-42025 Sub A CINAL LIBRARY)
(1 - SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION - 105-84)
(1 - [redacted]

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100-49738-99

CEC/kog
(35)

JAN 23 1957
FBI

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b7D

C I N A L

On 1/21/57, [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised SA JOHN F. PHELAN, Jr., that he met on 1/21/57 with JOSEPH DAVIDSON, a functionary of the Philadelphia Branch of the Independent Socialist League (ISL). DAVIDSON told [redacted] that he attended as a representative of the ISL a meeting held on 1/20/57 at the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. This meeting, according to DAVIDSON, was called by the FOR to plan a symposium for Philadelphia. DAVIDSON said that Dr. ALBERT E. BLUMBERG and JOSEPH ROBERTS attended as representatives of the Communist Party (CP). DAVID WEISS, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) Organizer in Philadelphia, attended as a representative of the SWP, and MARTIN OPPENHEIMER, Young Socialist League (YSL) Organizer in Philadelphia and Chairman of the Third Camp in Philadelphia, attended as a representative of FOR. According to DAVIDSON, a number of youths attended as representatives of YSL. The Socialist Party (SP) was not represented, although invited to attend. DAVIDSON described the meeting to [redacted] as "fantastic." He said that BLUMBERG stated the CP had held a convention at which a resolution was approved by 30 of 35 delegates to disband the CP and form a Political Action Committee to unite all Socialist groups into one united socialist party. BLUMBERG said the CP is abandoning the theory of democratic centralism and the idea of monolithic structure of the organization. BLUMBERG said whole purpose of the CP is to bring all groups of Socialists into new party.

According to DAVIDSON, DAVID WEISS of SWP, advised the group that he was opposed to BLUMBERG's proposal. He said SWP stands on their policy that the Soviet Union is a workers state and anyone who does not agree with this concept cannot become an SWP member. WEISS said that the SWP would not join other groups in a broad socialist organization at this time. He indicated, however, that the SWP was willing to listen to the proposals.

DAVIDSON also advised [redacted] that the SP and the Social Democratic Federation had voted to unite, which DAVIDSON stated would "kill" the ISL program of merging with the SP. Informant said the Social Democratic Federation was part of the Democratic Party and was composed primarily of an "old Jewish organization." b2 b7D

DAVIDSON stated the ISL was most willing to go along with the CP and was in full agreement with BLUMBERG. DAVIDSON commented that BLUMBERG stated also that, if the coming National CP Convention approves a resolution to disband and form a new organization, JOHN GATES will be the probable leader. BLUMBERG added that FOSTER and his followers will probably retain the CP in its present form.

Informant learned from DAVIDSON that a symposium will be held in Philadelphia around 3/1/57, possibly at the Kensington Labor Lyceum. DAVIDSON said the CP, SWP and the ISL will be represented at the symposium by national officers. According to DAVIDSON, the SP is willing to participate in the symposium but will not be represented by national officers.

On 1/22/57, PH-83-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that JOSEPH ROBERTS and other functionaries of the Communist Party, Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware (CPEPD), held a meeting at CP Headquarters in Philadelphia on the morning of 1/22/57.

ROBERTS reported to the group on the meeting which he attended on 1/20/57 at the offices of FOR. He said that there were 18 persons present and that he and BLUMBERG represented the CP; however, STEVE, (probably STEVE NELSON) could not come. According to ROBERTS, the ISL had two representatives, the SWP two representatives, the YSL one representative, American Friends Service Committee two representatives, and the FOR was represented by A. J. MUSTE and CHARLES WALKER. ROBERTS commented that A. J. MUSTE contributed heavily to the success of the meeting with his ability to find a basis for agreement. ROBERTS said that

symposium would be entitled "What Is Ahead for the American Worker?" ROBERTS said there would be six speakers. ROBERTS said there would be no admission charged; however, a collection would be taken up.

ROBERTS IS Organizer, CPEPD.

HENNRICH

Socialists Join in Convention With Segment of Social Democrats

CLIPPING FROM THE
N. Y. N.Y. POST
DATED 1/20/57
~~FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION~~

Indexed

100-49138-100

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
JAN 21 1957
FBI — NEW YORK

A segment of the Social Democratic Federation intends to merge with the Socialist Party in a "unity convention" Saturday at the Biltmore Hotel despite opposition of the SDF's largest single membership element.

The Jewish Socialist Verband, an affiliate of the SDF but at least as powerful as its parent body, opposes unity with the SP principally on the grounds that SP runs candidates in opposition to those backed by organized labor.

In the last Presidential election, the SP received 2,119 votes in Wis., Col., Iowa, and Va.—the four states in which it apeared on the ballot.

Louis P. Goldbery, SDF chairman who has been pushing unity, said the Verband represented only 50 per cent of SDF membership, but other estimates run as high as 90 per cent.

Goldbery said his faction "decided to take the bit in our teeth and break away from the domination of the Verband."

Nathan Chanin, general secretary of the Workmen's Circle, said the Verband "does not dominate anybody." He predicted that fewer than 100 persons woud join the SP as a result of the convention.

Goldberg said the idea of reactivating a unit drive occurred to him last June when British Labor Party leader Hugh Gaitskell visited the U. S. Goldberg said he asked the Laborite to address a unity meting here this month and when Gaitskell agreed "everybody was so enthused" Goldberg immediately set convention machinery in motion.

A meeting in July of the New York Central Committee unanimously indorsed the move, Goldberg said.

The change in Prime Ministers back home forced Gaitskell to leave for London Friday, however.

The situation did not change from July, 1956 until last Wednesday, when the central committee took another vote and defeated the unity proposal by a vote of 41-9. SDF members were called on not to take part in Saturday's session.

Norman Thomas, frequently an SP Presidential candidate in the past, said that while he does not expect to play an active role in the new organization, he will remain "loyal" to it.

He said the meeting tomorrow would "strengthen the cause of democratic socialism."

2 SOCIALIST UNITS VOTE FOR MERGER

Groups That Split in 1936 United Formally Despite Formidable Dissent

By WILL LISSNER

The Socialist party and a section of the Social Democratic Federation that had split off from it in 1936 were merged yesterday.

At a "unity convention" called in the name of both organizations, fifty delegates acting for each ratified the action of their national committees in unifying the two groups.

The meeting, held at the Biltmore Hotel, followed the precedent of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in naming the new group. It will be called the Socialist party-Social Democratic Federation. The delegates adopted a statement inviting "all democratic Socialist groups and individuals to join with us in helping to make real the concept of human fellowship in freedom."

The statement added, "For to defeat human misery by human genius is the goal of the united organization of the Socialist party and the Social Democratic Federation."

Groups Oppose Merger

How much unity was achieved by the move remained a question. It was led by Louis P. Goldberg, national chairman of the federation. His action was repudiated by a convention in Philadelphia of the Jewish Socialist Verband, its largest affiliate, by a vote of 87 to 7. The largest local branch, that of New York, directed Mr. Goldberg and his associates, by a vote of 41 to 9, not to take part in the convention.

The American Socialist movement, with its affiliates, has dwindled from ten million followers in 1912 to a few hundred thousand today. Other organizations claiming its leadership include the Socialist Labor party, from which the Socialist party founders seceded; the Industrial Workers of the World, and two groups established by followers or onetime followers of Leon Trotsky, the Socialist Workers party of James P. Cannon and the Independent Socialist League of Max Schachtman.

Part of the Socialist party of Eugene V. Debs, Morris Hillquit and Norman Thomas abandoned democratic socialism after World War I and helped to found the Communist party.

Herman Singer, secretary of the Joint Unity Committee, in a convention speech held that the convention "can be the first step toward developing a new and vital Socialist movement in the United States." He said that "the united Socialist organization will achieve full delegate

CLIPPING FROM THE

N.Y. TIMES

DATE 1/20/57

100-49738-101

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
JAN 21 1957
FBI — NEW YORK

status to the Socialist International."

Hugh Gaitskell, chairman of the British Labor party in a message recorded before his return to Britain, hailed "the new united party" on behalf of his organization. Greetings also were received from the Asian Socialist Conference, nine Socialist parties and other Socialist conferences.

The Communist party, in inner-party discussions, has given evidence that it is preparing a group of self-proclaimed "dissidents" to organize as "Socialists" and attempt to penetrate the new party, as they have attempted to enter the Democratic and Republican parties.

In preparation, the convention declared unanimously:

"No hypocritical pleas from Stalin's heirs for united fronts between Communists and Socialists is likely to lead us to forget Lenin's cynical dictum that Communists will 'support Social Democrats like a rope supports a hanging man.'"

Mayor Frank Zeidler of Milwaukee was elected national chairman.

At a dinner that closed the public sessions, guests included: Anna Kethly of Hungary, Jules Moch of France, Austen Albu of Britain, U On Sein of Burma, Dr. Adolph Reiffenstadt of Germany and Alsing Andersen of Denmark.

The convention ends today.

EXPANSION PLANNED BY SOCIALIST GROUP

Plans to spur threefold expansion of the merged Socialist party-Social Democratic Federation were drawn yesterday at the first meeting of a twenty-two-member national executive committee.

The group mapped proposals to increase the paid staff, both at national headquarters here and in the field, in a drive to double the number of locals. The four-hour session at the Biltmore Hotel brought the unity convention to a close.

Mayor Frank P. Zeidler of Milwaukee, national chairman, reported telegrams from Los Angeles, Chicago and other points in which groups, including members of the Jewish Socialist Verband, supported the merger. The verband, important in the Social Democratic Federation, has opposed the union.

Others on the executive committee are: Darlington Hoopes of Pennsylvania and Louis P. Goldberg of New York, vice chairmen; Robin Myers, Samuel H. Friedman, Herman Singer, Robert Alexander, Mitchell Loeb, Bruno Rother, Emmett Gloseclose, Elsie Ehret, John T. Jones and Eli Rosenblatt, all of New York; Louis Reiss, New Jersey; Harold Charbnau, Morris Polin and Barbara Graymont, Illinois; Caleb Smith, Rhode Island; Darlington Hoopes Jr., Hana Peters and David Rinne, Pennsylvania, and Aileen Whitehead, Colorado.

CLIPPING FROM THE

N. Y. N.Y. TIMES

DATED JAN 21 1957

FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION

100-49758-102

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____

SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____

JAN 21 1957

FBI—NEW YORK

1/25/57

AIRTEL

(REGISTERED MAIL)

To: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-424101)

From: SAC, PH (100-42651)

ATTEMPTS OF THE CP,USA TO FORM
A BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION,
PHILADELPHIA DIVISION
IS - C

C I N A L

9 - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
(3) 100-424101
(1) 100-3-69 - CP ORGANIZATION
(1) SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
(1) INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE
(1) YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE
(1) SOCIALIST PARTY
(1) FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
9 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)
(1) CP ORGANIZATION
(1) SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
(1) INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE
(1) YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE
(1) SOCIALIST PARTY
(1) FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
(1) AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
(1) ALBERT E. BLUMBERG
(1) A.J.MUSTE
2 - Pittsburgh (REGISTERED MAIL)
(1) ISL
(1) CLEVE (LNU)
17-Philadelphia
(1) 100-42651
(1) 100-8548 (ALBERT E. BLUMBERG)
(1) 100-32106 ([redacted])
(1) 100-28217 (JOSEPH DAVIDSON)
(1) 100-1835 (A.J.MUSTE)
(1) 100-38083 ([redacted])
(1) 100-41152 ([redacted])
(1) 100-38020 (JOSEPH ROBERTS)
(1) 100-4899 (AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE)
(1) 100-40 (FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION)
(1) 100-7121 (INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE)
(1) 100-15348 (SOCIALIST PARTY)

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COPIES CONT'D ON PAGE #2

JFP:thm
(37)

100-49738-103

SEARCHED ... INDEXED ...
SERIALIZED ... FILED ...
26 1957
FBI - NEW YORK

SAC
DIV. 1
DIV. 2
DIV. 3
DIV. 4
SEC. 1
SEC. 2
SEC. 3
SEC. 6
SEC. 9
SEC. 11
SEC. 12
SEC. 13
SEC. 14
SEC. 15
SEC. 16
SEC. 17
SEC. 18
SEC. 19
SEC. 20

COPIES (cont'd)

(1) 100-2036 (SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY)
(1) 100-41694 (THIRD CAMP)
(1) 100-31450 (YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE)
(1) 100-42025 Sub A (CINAL,Library)
(1) 105-84 (SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION)
(1) [redacted] b2 b7D

Re PH airtel 1/22/57.

[redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, on 1/23/57, orally furnished the following information to SA JOHN F. PHELAN, Jr.:

The Philadelphia Branch of the Independent Socialist League (ISL) held regular meeting 1/22/57 at which discussion held of symposium meeting with representatives of the ISL, CP, SWP, YSL, and FOR on 1/20/57.

ALBERT BLUMBERG, representing the CP, stated this is time for a change. CP made many mistakes in past, was willing to admit this and try to remedy its errors.

He conceded that Soviet Union needed more democracy. He said the Soviet Union was wrong in its approach to the Hungarian situation. He then read a resolution presented last month to NY State Convention, supposedly December 1956, and carried by 30 to 5 vote. This resolution called for dissolution of CP in America and creation of an independent socialist committee, or rather an independent socialist political action committee, whose goal would be to unite all the socialist groups into one party wherein all minorities could propagandize for their particular point of view. He said the new grouping would abandon all the old slogans and worn-out precepts such as democratic centralism and a monolithic party.

DAVE WEISS, SWP Organizer, advanced old SWP line that Russia is a workers state, and called for defense of Soviet Union, thus holding same position that caused the WP to leave the SWP.

JOE DAVIDSON, representing the ISL, asked BLUMBERG and WEISS if they favored the legalizing of all political parties in the satellite nations. BLUMBERG said, "Yes, even capitalist parties, small land holders and the peasants."

WEISS said, "No, only real working class parties." He pointed out the SWP would not unite with any group that did not believe in defense of the Soviet Union, thus favoring Russia's present attitude toward political parties in satellite nations.

JOE DAVIDSON said the SWP considers the Hungarian revolt the result of fascists, according to DAVE WEISS.

DAVIDSON said the SWP position on satellite political parties was farther to the left than the BLUMBERG position.

DAVIDSON and CARNER disagreed on a statement CARNER claimed BLUMBERG made. CARNER said BLUMBERG stated that while unity would be sought with all Socialist groups there could be no unity with any group that opposed the defense of the Soviet Union.

DAVIDSON stated he did not recall BLUMBERG made this statement.

DAVIDSON and CARNER were both in agreement that BLUMBERG and ROBERTS are strongly behind JOHN GATES and his followers. BLUMBERG considers GATES has a majority of CP members supporting him.

Further discussion at ISL meeting concerned the speaker for the ISL at the symposium. JOSEPH ROBERTS had suggested the date of March 1, 1957 for the symposium at the New Century Club. The ISL disagreed, stating the Club is tied in with the CP. The ISL suggested the Kensington Labor Lyceum.

DAVIDSON brought up discussion at ISL meeting that all members were under instructions of National Office of ISL "not to identify themselves as ISL members." DAVIDSON asked how then could he represent the ISL at the symposium without doing so. He said he couldn't use his party name, JOE ARNOLD, as everyone knew him by DAVIDSON. It was then suggested that they obtain a speaker from the N. O. of ISL, which the CP and FOR opposed. The CP and FOR insist on local speakers at symposium. FRANCIS CARNER, ISL Organizer, commented that MAX SHACHTMAN was the only party member who could identify himself as an ISL member. DAVIDSON then suggested that ALBERT GATES or GORDON HASKELL of NYC ISL be obtained as speaker.

An individual named "CLEVE" from the Pittsburgh ISL was also proposed to represent the ISL. CARNER has been instructed to ask ROBERTS (CP), and WEISS (SWP), to allow them a N. O. speaker.

Reairtel 1/8/57 furnished photostatic copies of ISL Political Committee Resolution. This resolution was discussed at length at ISL meeting 1/22/57. [redacted] advised Branch members voted to approve the first four paragraphs of Page One of resolution; however, it was agreed that paragraph 5 and paragraph 6 would throw out all possibility of unity with either the CP or SWP in view of present position taken by WEISS of SWP and BLUMBERG of CP. b2 b7D

Informant stated paragraph 7 was also contrary inasmuch as in the event of unity with other groups how could the ISL make such a proposal. Plan to ask National Committee of ISL to change paragraph 7. FRANCIS CARNER said paragraphs 10 and 11 also raised a question - (paragraph beginning "In all" etc.).

Informant stated the paragraph had to do with the ISL acting in such a manner as not to offend the Socialist Party, yet the proposals made at symposium meetings by CP and SWP would certainly do so. Informant stated PH ISL members are in complete confusion about Political Committee Resolution. They believe it will have to be completely changed.

Informant advised he did not see how unity could ever be accomplished between the SWP and ISL after hearing the discussion at the ISL meeting.

DE 100-9025
LMC:jrc
(30)

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[redacted]
100-16923 (B. J. WIDICK)
100-16984 ([redacted])
100-22339 ([redacted])
100-17856 ([redacted])
100-17246 ([redacted])
100-19532 ([redacted])
100-19519 ([redacted])
100-23900 ([redacted])
100-25722 ([redacted])
100-14770 ([redacted])
122-49 ([redacted])
100-20222 ([redacted])
100-20596 ([redacted])
100-2050 (CP)
100-13420 (CARL WINTER)
100-9395 (SOCIALIST PARTY)
100-6156 (FOR)
100-7595 (HENRY HITT CRANE)
100-25839 (CP EFFORTS TO FORM A BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION)

5 - New York (RM)
(1 - 100-6680 ISL)
(1 - 100- ~~MAX SCHACHTMAN~~)
(1 - 100- SOCIALIST PARTY)
(1 - 100- ~~NORMAN THOMAS~~)
(1 - 100- CP EFFORTS TO FORM A BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION)

4 - Chicago (RM)
(1 - 100- SIDNEY LENS)
(1 - 100- ISL)
(1 - 100- SOCIALIST PARTY)
(1 - 100- CP EFFORTS TO FORM A BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION)

INDEXED: [redacted] (LNU)
(LNU)
(LNU)
[redacted] (LNU)
[redacted]

TO : SAC, DETROIT (100-9025) DATE: January 24, 1957

FROM : SA [redacted]

SUBJECT: INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE
IS - ISL

INFORMANT: [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past (protect identity)

ACTIVITY: 12/11/56

DATE RECEIVED: 12/18/56

RECEIVED BY: SA [redacted]

LOCATION: [redacted]

Searched ____ Indexed ____
Serialized ____ Filed ____
1/24/57
FBI - Detroit

The Informant advised that a social and discussion of the ISL was held at the home of [redacted], Detroit, Michigan, on December 11, 1956. Those present were MAX SCHACHTMAN, B. J. WIDICK, [redacted] (LNU), [redacted] (LNU) and [redacted] (LNU). b6 b7C

Informant advised that before all the guests arrived, MAX SCHACHTMAN and the early guests discussed the previous night's meeting of the FOR at the Dairy Workers Hall, Detroit. SCHACHTMAN was thrilled about the large crowd that had attended the affair and the conduct of the moderator, Reverend HENRY H. CRANE of the Central Methodist Church, who let every speaker have his allotted twenty minutes without trying to dominate the meeting with his own talks like most moderators do. SCHACHTMAN said he liked Reverend CRANE very much and wanted to know more about him. [redacted] told SCHACHTMAN that Reverend CRANE came before the public eye during the 1930s, then really became known right after Pearl Harbor and during the war for his liberal views.

SCHACHTMAN commented that when he used to stay at the Wolverine Hotel, he had seen CRANE's church on the corner near the hotel. SCHACHTMAN did not say much about the various speakers that were on the panel with him but did say that he thought the Communists came out in full strength to support CARL WINTER. SCHACHTMAN called them typical Stalinists and blind to the true facts and followers of any line their leadership wants them to follow.

When all of the guests arrived, SCHACHTMAN made a report on the question of unity with the Socialist Party. He said that talks had been going on for some time about the ISL wanting to join the SP but nothing has come of it as yet. He said that although there were some supporters of the idea within the Socialist Party, the ISL was refused permission to join at the last SP convention in Chicago. SCHACHTMAN felt that with the support of people like his good friend, SIDNEY LENS, and others that carry some weight in the SP, the least he would get would be a slight delay but nothing serious to object about. He said, however, that NORMAN THOMAS himself came out with a

very long speech and his objections against the admission of the ISL into the SP. SCHACHTMAN said he had not expected objections from THOMAS after THOMAS had testified in Washington, D. C., in behalf of the ISL, and his objections were a great shock to him. SCHACHTMAN said that THOMAS said that the Socialist Party could not allow the ISL to merge with it because he wanted to keep the Socialist Party intact and free from descension within itself. SCHACHTMAN said that THOMAS accused the ISL of wanting to break up the SP and a lot of other unkind things that were not true.

SCHACHTMAN then stated his reason why the merger with the SP would work out for the benefit of all Socialists in the world. He said with an organization like the ISL in the SP, it would add new blood and a lot of new ideas and later other Socialist organizations would want to unite in one great Socialist Party working as one unit. He said the only purpose and intent of the ISL in the unity movement is to further the social movement throughout the world for the benefit of the working class. Informant advised that SCHACHTMAN spoke about an hour and then a discussion period was held but the discussion generally was about everything but the merger of the ISL and the SP. Most of the talk centered around the Hungarian revolt and the Egyptian affair.

The Informant advises that [redacted] (LNU) almost talked himself to pieces without saying anything of importance. [redacted] tried to get something over that MAX had said at the FOR meeting on December 10, 1956, but could not get anyone to understand him clearly. [redacted] would interrupt other discussions by asking to be allowed to ask a question, then he would go off the deep end and talk about his idea of Socialism and why others have the wrong concept of various political questions. [redacted] did not seem to make a very good impression with anyone and some time later he became extremely provoked when B. J. WIDICK, who was acting as Chairman of the discussion, did not want to give [redacted] time to talk. [redacted] said that if the meeting was an organizational meeting, he would leave but that he had been under the impression the affair was supposed to be a discussion of political questions. Informant advised that at one time [redacted] was bragging about making the arrangements for the FOR symposium of December 10, 1956, and stated that

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SCHACHTMAN originally was not listed to be a member of the panel but after some discussion at a meeting of the people who were responsible for the arrangements, it was finally decided to allow SCHACHTMAN to be invited to speak. [redacted] said that this meeting had been held at [redacted]'s house, and [redacted] admitted that the meeting had been held at his house.

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[redacted] could not agree with MAX SCHACHTMAN on uniting all of the Socialist elements into one party. [redacted] said that all Marxist Socialists did not agree on the Hungarian revolt.

[redacted]'s husband [redacted] (LNU) did not like an inference made by [redacted] that [redacted] was wrong about DEUTSCH and MARX. [redacted] said that he wished no one would attempt to bring personalities into a discussion of political subjects. He said that he was a strict Marxist and a good friend of DEUTSCH. SCHACHTMAN said that he was at a loss to know why a summary of the discussion was necessary because no one talked about the ISL - SP merger, but he did give a short summary. Informant advised that SCHACHTMAN gave only a short summary of the discussion and the meeting was concluded.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM * UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-16)

DATE: FEB 8 1957

REGISTERED MAIL

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (100-442)

b2
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b7D

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP

Reboslet to Bureau, 1/22/57.

The following is being furnished for the information of the Bureau and offices receiving copies of this letter:

[redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past and whose identity must be protected, on January 30, 1957, advised that at a meeting of the Boston Branch, Socialist Workers Party (SWP), held January 24, 1957, at Room 300, Hotel Gardner, 199 Massachusetts Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts, LAWRENCE P. TRAINOR, Organizer of the Boston Branch,

AVS:MT
3-Bureau (RM)(2-100-16)(1-100-3-69; CP ORGANIZATION)
3-Buffalo (RM)(1-100-6516; SWP)
(1-[redacted]; 100-
(1-S. MARCY; 100-
3-Cincinnati (RM)(1-SWP; 100-
(1-ISL; 100-
(1-YSL; 100-
2-Los Angeles (RM)(1-100-17375; SWP)
(1-CP ORGANIZATION; 100-
9-New York (RM)(1-100-4013; SWP)
(1-100-7388; F. DOBBS)
(1-[redacted]; 100-
(1-ISL; 100-
(1-YSL; 100-
(3-CP, USA & PERTINENT SUBDIVISIONS; 100-
(1-SOCIALIST PARTY; 100-
6-San Francisco (RM)(1-61-380; SWP)
(1-V. HALLINAN; 100-
(1-[redacted]; 100-
(3-CP, USA & PERTINENT SUBDIVISIONS; 100-
2-Seattle (RM)(1-100-3864; SWP)
(1-CP ORGANIZATION; 100-
3-Boston (1-100-442)
([redacted])
(1-100-7697; L. TRAINOR)

(31)

100-49738-105

FEB 12 1957

SWP, presented Report No. 2 of the SWP's National Committee Plenum held in December, 1956, at New York.

TRAINOR's National Committee Plenum Report No. 2 was based on "The Dobbs Report" at the December, 1956 National Committee Plenum. "The Dobbs Report," presented by FARRELL DOBBS, National Secretary of the SWP, concerned the SWP's political program or orientation or course during the coming period.

According to TRAINOR, DOBBS's report dealt distinctly and directly with three major issues on the international scene:

A. THE SUEZ CRISIS

TRAINOR advised that the National Committee's Resolution on the Suez Crisis has been reprinted in one of the January, 1957 issues of "The Militant." He added that this "Militant" issue includes all points covered in the National Committee Plenum's discussion on this particular subject.

TRAINOR, for the benefit of those branch members who had not read the National Committee's Resolution on the Suez Crisis, noted the following important factors influencing this Resolution:

TRAINOR stated that the United States emerged as the only victor from the Suez incident. He stated that economically the United States now will force Great Britain to turn over more of her Middle East oil holdings and politically the United States strengthened its relationship with the nations of the Arab League. Conversely, TRAINOR stated, France and Britain lost economic and political status in the Middle East.

B. REGROUPMENT OF THE "AMERICAN LEFT"

TRAINOR set forth the following as the current trends within the "American Left":

1. The ex-Stalinist peripheral leaders like CLIFFORD MC AVOY and VINCENT HALLINAN now are considered as part of the Trotskyist periphery.

2. Left regroupment in this period is impossible.

Successful regroupment is dependent upon a sharp downward trend in the United States economy, i.e., rise in unemployment--depression.

Today's "left unity" organizations are numerous but ineffectual due to the lack of a "program." These "left unity" organizations defeat their own purpose by competing against one another when basically all have the same goal.

3. Mergers --

a. Recent merger of the "Social Democratic Federation" with the Socialist Party, which TRAINOR stated is regarded, generally speaking, as the left's right wing.

b. The Shachtmanites', exclusive of Shachtmanite Youth, recent overtures towards the Socialist Party.

TRAINOR did not elaborate further concerning the above.

4. Communist Party, USA --

At present KHRUSHCHEV's revelations at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU continue the process of disintegration within the Communist Party, USA. The February, 1957 Communist Party National Convention is expected to reveal the American Communist Party's future course.

TRAINOR further stated that from the date of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU through December, 1956, the SWP has accomplished the following results in its "Campaign Against Stalinism":

a. In Los Angeles, six rank and file Stalinists (Communist Party members) now hold dual membership in the SWP and the Communist Party, per instructions of the SWP.

b. In Seattle, ten rank and file Stalinists hold dual membership in the Communist Party and the SWP, per instructions of the SWP.

c. In San Francisco, the SWP has won over from the Stalinists the Director of the California Labor School, ROBERTS, and, further, has won over sufficient ex-Stalinists within the Longshoremen's

Union to give the SWP the propaganda openings formerly held by the Stalinists in that union.

TRAINOR emphasized that practically all SWP gains to date in the Party's "Campaign Against Stalinism" have been made on the West Coast. The reason, he stated, that developments in this campaign have proceeded at a more rapid rate on the West Coast is that the top SWP leaders, thoroughly experienced in Stalinist political methods, are located in that area.

According to TRAINOR, in addition to the Communist Party as a source of recruitment, the Shachtmanite Youth and the developing left wing within the Socialist Party are also sources of new SWP recruits.

TRAINOR stated that the Shachtmanite Youth leader in New York City and the Shachtmanite Youth leader on the Antioch College campus are enthusiastic in their support of the SWP program and through their influence are expected to bring the entire Shachtmanite Youth as a unit into the SWP, thus giving the SWP a youth group for the first time since the SHACHTMAN-BURNHAM split from the SWP in 1940.

TRAINOR identified the Socialist Party's developing left wing as the Socialist Party's younger elements who cannot accept the Socialist Party—"Social Democratic Federation" merger.

C. HUNGARIAN CRISIS

TRAINOR merely mentioned this to be the third major section of "The Dobbs Report," stating that all points covered at the Plenum concerning this issue have been reprinted in one of the January, 1957 issues of "The Militant."

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With respect to the Hungarian Crisis, [redacted] on February 1, 1957, advised that at the January 31, 1957 meeting of the Boston Branch, SWP, LAWRENCE TRAINOR reviewed the developing MARCY (SAM MARCY) "Faction's" position on the Hungarian Crisis, which, TRAINOR stated, was presented at the SWP's National Committee Plenum, December, 1956, by VINCENT COPELAND, co-leader of the Buffalo Branch and secondary leader in this developing faction.

BS 100-442

According to TRAINOR, the MARCY position unequivocally defended the Kremlin-ordered Red Army's action in the Hungarian Revolution. TRAINOR stated that this position was directly opposed to the position of the National Committee's majority.

Informant advised that TRAINOR made no further reference to the National Committee's Resolution on the Hungarian Crisis. Informant noted that the official National Committee Resolution on the Hungarian Revolution is carried in the January 14, 1957 issue of "The Militant."

TRAINOR further stated that at the December, 1956 Plenum, the National Committee discussed the slogan of the SWP's Political Committee, "Send the Troops into the South" or "Send Troops to Enforce Desegregation." TRAINOR emphasized that while the National Committee fully realized the potential danger "tactically" of endorsing use of troops, from the standpoint of "principle," i.e., SWP's position for desegregation, the National Committee was obliged to endorse this slogan. TRAINOR added that each and every top SWP leader at the Plenum approved the use of the slogan.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEWARK (100-1984) DATE: FEB 14 1957

FROM : SA [redacted]

b2
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SUBJECT : SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
IS-SWP

On 2/6/57, [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished a signed report to SAS AUSTIN G. OSBORN and [redacted]. This report is filed in [redacted], and contains the following information:

There was a membership meeting of the Newark SWP held on 1/27/57, at 52 Market St., Newark, N.J. In attendance at this function were the following persons:

MAX GELDMAN

[redacted]

[redacted] was chairman for this meeting. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and accepted. There was a letter from the National SWP Office advising of a 20% increase in the fund drive which raised the Newark quota from $200 to $240. A list of pledges was read off and the following were noted:

[redacted]
$80

[redacted]
$25

100-49738-106

COPIES OF MEMO ON PAGE 1A

FEB 14 1957

NK 100-1984

COPIES OF MEMO:

15- Newark (100-1984)
100-31559 (MAX GELDMAN)
100-41770 ([redacted])
100-32646 ([redacted])
100- ([redacted])
100-42285 ([redacted])
100-33270 ([redacted])
100- ([redacted])
100- ([redacted])
100-35660 ([redacted])
100-33910 ([redacted])
100-2485 (SOCIALIST PARTY)
100-40263 ([redacted])
100- ([redacted])
100-32912 ([redacted])
2 - New York (100-4013, SWP) (REG. MAIL)
(1 - 100-(SOCIALIST PARTY) (REG. MAIL)
RWF:rk
(17)

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NK 100-1984

[redacted]
$40

MAX and [redacted] GELDMAN
$10

[redacted]
$10

[redacted]
$5

Other pledges made the total $230.

MAX GELDMAN stated that the SWP was now starting a Youth Group in order to recruit most of the young people from the now dissolved SOCIALIST PARTY, previously headed by NORMAN THOMAS.

MAX GELDMAN told of a meeting in NYC, where the leaders of different parties met in open discussion. A person by the name of "BARTELLO" was willing to have his party of "BARTELLOITES" unite with the SWP but was turned down by the SWP as it is believed that it would just be adding another faction.

[redacted] gave the financial report and the Newark branch is $7.47 in the black.

The educational part of the meeting dealt with the Negro question in the South, and the Hungarian question. MAX GELDMAN made a few statements and then [redacted] broke in and said that nothing will be gained unless blood is shed. GELDMAN did not agree with him, citing the bus strike as an example and said that much has been gained recently; for instance, the integration in the schools in Baltimore and the favorable elections in Clinton, Tenn. where the white council candidates were defeated. [redacted] did not agree that passive resistence would win out. MAX stated that the meetings of the church leaders would lead to more events, until a party emerges to take over and carry on the struggle.

[redacted] is back at work after winning his case, and he has bought a 1948 Packard.

NK 100-1984

[redacted] works at [redacted], N.J. and his license number is [redacted]. b6 b7C

[redacted] and [redacted] are still at [redacted], Washington, N.J.

There will be a social on 2/16/57 at the [redacted]'s residence.

A "MR. SPARROW" is to speak to the Newark SWP on 2/10/57.

Cll 2/20/57

OFFICE MEMORANDUM * UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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b7D

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-129859) DATE: 2/18/57

FROM : SA [redacted] (#7-3)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST UNITY FORUM
IS - SUA

SOURCE: [redacted] (Conceal)

RELIABILITY: Possible PSI
Who has furnished reliable information in the past.

INFORMATION FURNISHED: Socialist Unity Forum held NYC 1/18/57

DATE RECEIVED: 1/21/57 (Oral)
1/29/57 (Written)

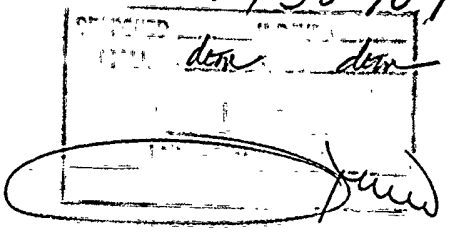
RECEIVED BY: [redacted], SA

LOCATION: [redacted]

1 - [redacted] (P & C) (7-3)
1 - NY 100-130702 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1 - NY 100-6680 (ISL) (7-1)
1 - NY 100-49738 (SOCIALIST PARTY) (7-3)
1 - NY 100-7388 (FARRELL DOBBS) (7-3)
1 - NY 100-25903 (MAX SHACHTMAN) (7-1)
1 - NY 100-20802 (A. J. MUSTE) (7-3)
1 - NY 100-93572 ("NATIONAL GUARDIAN") (7-2)
1 - NY 100-7664 (JOHN T. MC MANUS) (7-2)
1 - NY 100-25783 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1 - NY 100-7546 (FOR) (7-3)
1 - NY 100-80679 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1 - NY 100-87984 ([redacted]) (12-15)
1 - NY 100-119289 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1 - NY 100-106192 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1 - NY 100-98816 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1 - NY 100-92801 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1 - NY 100-63913 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1 - NY 100-116594 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1 - NY 100-120240 ([redacted]) (7-3)

GPB:czd
(29)

100-49738-107



Memo
NY 100-129859

1 - NY 100-94825 (BERNIE GOODMAN) (7-3)
1 - NY 100-107163 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1 - NY 100-118388 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1 - NY 100-60264 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1 - NY 100-126921 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1 - NY 100-126922 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1 - NY 100-93670 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1 - NY 100-130558 ([redacted]) (7-3)

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"A. J. Muste spoke on behalf of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and 'Liberation.' In his speech he attacked the followers of the Catholic Worker as 'deluded pacifists.'

"He said that the left was emasculated and cut off from American labor and the world. He demanded an end to 'Marxist gibberish.' He said unification of left groups or their members at this stage would still be isolation. He said a new union must take place on a firm basis - no evangelism, but a basic education for unity. He also said that 'trojan horse tactics' or recruiting from other splinter groups be stopped.

"In the question period that followed the speeches, Harry Ring spoke up against union with the SP because of their support of a capitalist America. Muste questioned Dobbs in regard to his views favoring defense of a workers' state. Dobbs said he was for world abolition of capitalism. He claimed the foreign policy of the U. S. government was to restore capitalism in the workers' states and to suppress colonial revolutions. Dobbs said this was against the best interests of the working class and human welfare because it would bring war, which would profit capitalism. He stated that if capitalism was abolished in even one country, it would weaken American imperialism. Dobbs hit U. S. labor leaders as betrayers of the workers because they supported a capitalist state. He predicted a new outbreak of revolutions all over Euorpe, especially in Hungary.

"Another speaker during the question period was Bob _____, who got up and defended the position of the CP to the effect that aggression against Hungary was necessary. He also defended the P. D. R. of China. This fellow is blind and it is plain that the Communists have unfortunately imposed on him.

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"People present at the symposium that I recognized from the SWP were the following:

"[redacted]'s new husband

"[redacted] _____ and [redacted]

"[redacted]

"[redacted]

"[redacted] _____

"[redacted] _____

"[redacted]

"[redacted]

"Farrell Dobbs

"[redacted] and wife, formerly from San Francisco

"Unknown negro, dark complexion, semi-beard and brush mustache

"[redacted] (phonetic)

"Bernie and [redacted] Goodman and daughter

"[redacted]"

In cases where the last name of an individual is not known to [redacted] full identification has been made through description furnished by [redacted] and by comparison with reports of other informants who attended the same function. It is believed that the unknown Negro described by [redacted] is [redacted].

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-3476) DATE: 2/11/57

FROM : SA [redacted]

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SUBJECT: ISL
IS - ISL

Source	Activity	Received	Agent	Location
[redacted] who has furnished reliable info in the past and whose identity should be concealed	ISL meeting 2/1/57, 3105½ S. Vermont Los Angeles, Calif.	2/4/57	Writer	[redacted]

cc:
8 - New York REGISTERED (SWP, YSL, [redacted], MAX MARTIN, CP, (SP, SLP)
3 - Cleveland REGISTERED ([redacted], SWP, YSL)
3 - San Francisco REGISTERED (SWP, YSL, [redacted])
[redacted]
100-34189 ([redacted] (SI)
100-29501 ([redacted] (SI)
100-43560 ([redacted] (SI)
100-48780 ([redacted] (SI)
100-29490 ([redacted] (SI)
100-47822 ([redacted] (CI)
100-49884 ([redacted] (SI)
100-44703 ([redacted] (SI)
100-44702 ([redacted] (SI)
100-52773 ([redacted] (SI)
100-50207 ([redacted] (CI)
100-24798 ([redacted] (SI)
100-43506 ([redacted] (SI)
100-39811 ([redacted] (CI)
100-40206 ([redacted] (CI)
100-24053 (YSL)
100-30984 (LYL)
100-17375 (SWP)
100-7929 (YPSL)
65-183 (SP)
100-1751 (SLP)
100-47186 (FACTIONALISM)

Read by: JCO

100-49738-108

JCO:SSB
(38)

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Informant, who was present at the above meeting, furnished a written report dated 2/2/57, which reads as follows:

" There was a meeting of the Los Angeles ISL on Feb. 1, 1957, at their joint headquarters, 3105½ S. Vermont, Los Angeles, which I covered. The following were in attendance: [redacted] and [redacted], who came in unannounced.

" The group that [redacted] has been working with including the LYL, SWP, and YPSL in the Los Angeles area, has postponed the forum until Feb. 22. There was no announcement of location.

" The Communist Party will meet in New York City for National Convention on Feb. 15-16 and there will be a state convention in California on March 15-16 of the CP with no address given. This information is from the gleanings that [redacted] has made from reading the Communist Press. [redacted] had all recent copies of 'Political Affairs' with him and mentioned 'People's World' and the 'Daily Worker' as sources that he got his information from concerning the breakdown and internal struggle in the CP.

" There was no mention made of where [redacted] is staying in Los Angeles, but his phone previously was directly obtainable from telephone information.

" [redacted] has just returned from New York and mentions that the SWP is going to start a youth group and counts on the following to aid them: [redacted] of New York YSL, [redacted] of YSL, [redacted] of Dayton YSL, and [redacted] who is now in both SWP and YSL in Berkeley. [redacted] blamed the poor management of the YSL National Office by MAX MARTIN and his slow handling the YSL position on the United States National election for playing right into the hands of this possible left tendency break. [redacted] opposed [redacted]'s assessment of the situation and said not to expect any break off. [redacted] said he does not receive correspondence from MARTIN in New York and [redacted] said that he received copies of the same information which was sent to [redacted]. [redacted] meekly capitulated.

" [redacted]'s wife is quite sick with some ailment.

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" [redacted] delivered the educational on the 'Debate among American Communists' in which he shows two groups vying for power. There is the group led by FOSTER and DENNIS which he sees as loyal to the old policies of the CP and a group led by JOHN GATES, editor of the 'Daily Worker' and STEVE NELSON which is against the Stalinist and terroristic policies of Russia. A new booklet was offered for sale entitled 'The Communist Party at the Crossroads (Toward Democratic Socialism or Back to Stalinism)' by H. W. BENSON which is an ISL booklet. This booklet is submitted by me with this report. [redacted] said that the Communists are in deep difficulty and are losing many of the former loyal members, not the people like BUDENZ and WHITTAKER CHAMBERS. He mentioned the names of two prominent Communists who were announced as quitting the CP in the Feb. 1, 1957 edition of the Los Angeles Times.

" I believe that the ISL would like to see the GATES group get control of the CP. To support this I quote exactly from page 33 of the 'Communist Party at the Crossroads.'

" 'Declaim as it may against 'liquidationism,' the Foster-Dennis line leads swiftly toward liquidation of the Party into an isolated Stalinist sect. Foster voted against the Draft Resolution; Dennis, for. But they are united on what is basically a Stalinist policy in the most scientific sense of the term. They differ only on how best to preserve a Stalinist-type organization. Once it was possible to build a mass Stalinist movement in the United States. But no more.'

" 'Thousands of Communists have devoted their full mature lives to the fight for a world of socialism, as they saw it, risking personal well being, gaining experience in the class struggle. Are they now to be scattered to the winds and squandered; are they to waste away in a hopelessly Stalinist sect, justly scorned by the working class? That, and that only, is the grim and inexorable result of a victory for the Foster-Dennis line, a victory which would bring a spurious vindication for them as Party officials, but at what a cost! It would mean the destruction of the potentialities and possibilities already created inside the Party by the discussion.'

" 'If the Party makes the necessary changes in policy and outlook (and in this Gates, Nelson and the others, are a hundred per cent correct) Communists will be able to make their contribution to the new socialist movement that is destined to come.'

" There is a further interesting quote on page 39-40 of 'The Communist Party at the Crossroads' which is at the end of the booklet.

" 'A LOOK OF AMAZED DISBELIEF will spread over the faces of many Party members. What about iron discipline, monolithism, centralism? All the dogmas they took for granted seem to rule out every one of our propositions without exception. Is it possible to build such a movement?'

" 'It is not only possible; it is necessary. It is not only necessary it is virtually inevitable Let us ask a question in return. How else, after theoretical and programmatic disarray, after the fragmentation of socialism, do you think that it is possible to reconstruct the socialist movement now?'

" 'It is not an idle dream. There was just such a movement in the United States. What we are describing is nothing less than the Socialist Party of Eugene Debs. We need such a movement brought up to date; one which takes into account the reality of today's politics on the national and international arena.'

" 'There is a shopworn fable that the old SP was a futile do-nothing outfit that could accomplish nothing. Dismiss it from your mind! Let us not genuflect before the memory of Debs but learn from what he and his comrades were able to accomplish. It was Debs and the all-inclusive Socialist Party which he helped to build that brought a whole generation of workers, intellectuals and professionals to socialist consciousness. It was this party which broke out of the sectarian isolation of the tightly-knit, closely disciplined, 'monolithic' Socialist Labor Party and brought socialism to millions.

" 'In some ways, our task today is similar. Once again we must unite socialism; end a sectarian form of existence, and win over a new generation to socialism, a generation which must reach socialism in its own way.

" 'This is the opportunity that awaits us. Are you ready to grasp it? Others will. Will you make the necessary transformation in your policies, organization and outlook? As you answer these questions you are deciding the fate of your movement and the future of its membership. You are deciding nothing less than this:

" Toward democratic socialism or back to Stalinism?'

This booklet is supposed to be distributed at the CP convention in New York.

" The ISL is behind in its rent on the Los Angeles headquarters.

" Los Angeles SWP sent a girl observer to the New York YSL Convention said [redacted]." b6 b7C

On 2/5/57, [redacted] orally advised the writer that he had observed a publication from the LYL in Los Angeles which showed the address of 3875 City Terrace Drive in the Boyle Heights district which appeared to be a proposed meeting place for LYL activities. b2 b7D

He had only a momentary glance at this publication and obtained no further information in that regard.

Examination of the booklet "The CP at the Crossroads" by H. W. BENSON shows it to be published by the ISL through the new International Publishing Company in New York City.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

Date: 2/21/57

Transmit the following message via Air-tel

Registered

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TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-86590)

FROM SAC, NEW YORK (100-6680)

INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE
IS-ISL

On 2/19/57, [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished SAS A. LEWIS BARNETT and [redacted] a four page document made available to ISL members at an ISL meeting held on 2/14/57, at 114 W. 14th St., NYC.

This document entitled, "Memorandum on Our Perspective and Orientation in the Matter of Socialist Unity," urges unity with other Socialist groups except, "we must decline sponsorship and responsibility for any organization or 'semi-organization' which associates us with any group that has not declared plainly, whatever its estimate of the social nature or course of development of the Stalinist countries, that it is hostile to and independent of the totalitarian regimes that rule them, and supports all genuinely Democratic movements and struggles against these regimes."

4 - Bureau (100-86590) (Encs. 3) (RM)
(1 - Bufile 100-) (Socialist Party, USA)
1 - Chicago (100-1840) (Info) (RM)
1 - Cleveland (100-9997) (Info) (RM)
1 - Detroit (100-9025 (Info) (RM)
1 - Los Angeles (100-3476) (Info) (RM)
1 - Newark (100-18417) (Info) (RM)
1 - Philadelphia (100-7121) (Info) (RM)
1 - Pittsburgh (100-5567) (Info) (RM)
1 - San Francisco (100-2397) (Info) (RM)
1 - [redacted] (P&C)
1 - NY 100-49738 (Socialist Party, USA) (Attachment) (7-3)
1 - NY 100-6680 (Attachment) (7-1)

RMJ:AJW
(16)

100-49738-109

SEARCHED ..... INDEXED .....
SERIALIZED ..... FILED .....
FEB 26 1957
FBI - NEW YORK

Item three of this document states in part "The ISL is in favor of unity with the Socialist Party because it can become the frame work for such a unification and make a tremendous contribution towards its advancement." This item further states "Individual radicals formerly under the influence of Stalinism may be recruited to a revolutionary sect. But the bulk of these who are still ready to work for socialism can be attracted only to an organization which is a serious political movement or which has the possibility of being developed into such a movement... From this point of view, too, the ISL favors unity with the SP as the organization which it is possible to build up as a serious pole of attraction to all radicals of yesterday, today, and tomorrow, which offers a significant alternative to Stalinism in the struggle against capitalism and imperialism."

Photostats of this document are being enclosed for the information of the Bureau and the original is being maintained as an exhibit in NY 100-6680.

KELLY

MEMORANDUM ON OUR PERSPECTIVE AND ORIENTATION IN THE MATTER OF SOCIALIST UNITY

******

Our orientation in the problem of socialist unity must be rooted in our relationship to the development of the working classes. The unification of the AFL and CIO has brought the American working class to its highest point in strength and made it the most numerous and powerful social movement in the country. The unification has been achieved without the surrender of any of the basic principles that distinguished the progressive section from the conservative section, but indeed with the formal acceptance of these principles by the latter and in the increasing real acceptance of them by the labor movement as a whole. The unification of the labor movement in this way is an historic turning-point for the American working class. At the same time, an historic turning-point is being recorded by another section of the working people, the Negroes in the South, in the irreversible movement for equality that embraces vitrtually all of them. Not only are the two movements historically linked but, despite the insignificant organizational ties between them at present, they are already linked politically and socially in the significance and consequence of their development.

Both developments are of decisive importance for the further of a genuine, effective socialist movement in this country. For a wide variety of reasons, both of them have unfolded without the socialist movement being strengthened thereby and without the socialist movement or any section of it having any influence upon them. Yet, socialism cannot become a serious movement in this country until its main foundations rest securely in the organized labor and Negro movements and struggles. In its present fragmented and disoriented form, socialism is in no position to lay these foundations. It is important to add: regardless of its form and orientation, socialism will not be in a position to lay these foundations until the objective conditions engender a new wave of massive class struggles and radicalization among the workers.

Objectively, all the discussions, ferment and reconsiderations now manifest in all the sections of the socialist, Stalinist and intermediate groups, even though precipitated apparently by the outbreak of the crisis in the Stalinist world abroad, boil down to resolving the problem of how to achieve or restore the union of socialist (or pseudo socialist) ideas and the labor movement <u>from the standpoint of each of the groups and tendencies involved</u>. So it is the case, as it necessarily must be, with the ISL. Our decisions must facilitate, not in some unrealizably ideal or abstract sense but in the sense of the maximum possible under the concrete circumstances, the advancement of our ideas of democratic socialism in the ranks of labor and Negro movements, and the corresponding growth of a socialist movement based upon these broad mass movements and exercising an increasing influence among them. Any decision taken in the matter of socialist unity, or in relations with other groups, must serve this objective. Any decision, no matter what success it seems to yield of a temporary or isolated nature, but which conflicts with this objective, which does not serve it, or which is not conceived and carried on in a way which is consciously subordinated to the attainment of the objective, is wrong.

We recognize that the bulk of the radical movement, including the socialist radical movement, in the past twenty years has been under the ideological, political and most often the organizational leadership of the Stalinist Party. This movement, which helped identify socialism with the theories and practices of Stalinism, and of the Stalinist regimes, in the minds of the public, and above all in the minds of the working class, ended by producing an immense antagonism to Stalinism and, correspondingly, to socialism, in the working class. The Stalinist leadership of this movement is now practically dead. The ideology of Stalinism among the residue of this movement has been severely shaken by the Stalinist crisis. It is not, however, as dead as is the leadership of the Stalinist party, but remains to one degree or another. Indeed, the extent to which this ideology dominates the political thinking of various intermediate groups (ex-Stalinist, ex-Progressive Party, ex-Trotskyist) and their supporters, or the extent to which they have freed themselves, formally or actually, from this ideology, determines in large measure the contribution they are able to make to effective socialist regroupment. In turn, the extent to which it is possible to create or build an effective socialist regrouping as an alternative pole of attraction to that constituted by Stalinism, willdetermine in large measure the degree to which these groups shake off the remnants of the ideology of Stalinism. From the foregoing follow these conclusions

1. If a regroupment took place essentially through the unification of all the above-indicated groups into a new, united movement, excluding only the Stalinist leadership, it would result certainly in excluding all or the great bulk of those who, without accepting all the policies that distinguish the ISL, are committed to democratic socialism and are hostile to supporters, including critical supporters, of Stalinism in the name of socialism. Such a new coalesced movement would carry the stamp, not so much by formal decision as by its predominant composition, of a re-formed and modified pro-Stalinist movement. We do not see how such a coalition could play a genuinely positive role in the growth of a socialist movement as we conceive of it. Neither is it in the interest of the further progress in the right direction of those who are to one degree or another moving away from Stalinism. It would tend to halt such ideological and political progress and thereby contribute to nullifying the effectiveness of those who have a contribution to make to the growth of the socialist movement. Our contact, discussion or collaboration with these groups and individuals must therefore aim at persuading them not to yield to any tendency toward such a coalition, at persuading them of the negative character of such a direction of their efforts, and at turning their attention and efforts in the direction of concrete [illegible] alternatives. While we seek friendly contact and discussion, free from violent polemics, with such groups and individuals, we must decline sponsorship and responsibility for any organization or "semi-organization" which associates us with any group that has not declared plainly, whatever its estimate of the social nature or course of development of the Stalinist countries, that it is hostile to and independent of the totalitarian regimes that rule them, and supports all genuinely democratic movements and struggles against these regimes. Inasmuch as all the groups involved in any possible unification, have to one degree or other condemned the attach of Stalinism upon the Hungarian people, and expressed support for the democratic and socialist struggle of these people against the Hungarian and Russian Stalinist regimes, our proposal for such a general direction declaration on

their part cannot reasonably be objected to as an attempt by us to impose an ultimatum upon them.

2. For us to declare that collaboration with other groups requires their acceptance of all our theoretical positions, including our position on the nature of Stalinism and of Stalinist society, or that such acceptance is required for coexistence in one socialist organization, would be wrong and ultimatistic and contrary to our conception of the socialist unification that is now required. We make no such declaration and we reject it when made by anyone else. We regard the theoretical differences on the Russian question, on Stalinism, which were the main cause of the splits in the past, as "frozen" for the present as regards the groups now discussing unity. We do not refrain from advancing our own theoretical position, but we do not make it, or the position of any other tendency, the pre-condition for unity. The pre-condition for unity is acceptance of the general principles of democratic socialism, agreement upon a democratic life for the united organization and support of the democratic struggle against the totalitarian regime. This does not encompass the full position of the ISL, to whose tendency we reserve the democratic right of advocacy in a responsible and not disruptive way in a united socialist organization, which is the right of any other tendency as well. This viewpoint indicates that we do not regard or put forward the ISL as the basis of the reunification of the socialist movement, but do consider it as an indispensable element of the unity and as a tendency in it enjoying full equality with all others.

3. The ISL is in favor of unity with the Socialist Party because it can become the framework for such a unification and make a tremendous contribution toward its advancement. If the SP neglects the opportunity at hand it will drastically reduce the prospects for its growth in the immediate period ahead and in the future as well. The orientation of the ISL is based upon doing its best to help realize the former possibility. The ISL decides firmly in favor of unity with the Socialist Party as it is at present constituted and without posing any conditions of an organizational or political kind save those that are incontestable for all members enjoying equality of rights and duties. The ISL has neither the intention nor the desire to unite with the Socialist Party in order to "caputre" it, for even if this were possible such a "victory" would not only be meaningless but, what is worse, it would defeat the very objective of converting the SP from its present position of isolation and weakness to an effective, influential, broad democratic socialist movement in the best traditions of the Debs period. Without for a moment abandoning our right to present our own views on the policies and tactics of the socialist movement, we favor the exercise of this elementary right in such a way as to serve the aim of building the Socialist Party, of bringing into it new and numerous elements from the labor movement, the Negro movement, the student youth, the intellectuals and professional people, and not in such a way as to sterilize the party by making it a vanishing battleground for hard-and-fast factions or sects. Without for a moment abandoning our support of the principles and practices of democratic socialism as the basis for a reunited and healthy socialist movement, but rather by insisting upon these principles, we aim to build a Socialist Party which successfully takes up the challenge offered by the existence of great numbers of radicals who have already broken with Stalinism or are in the course of doing so, and seek a vigorous

socialist organization which rejects sectarianism and aims at becoming a living movement. It is precisely in this sense that the Socialist Party has the possibility of displacing the Stalinist Party as the leader and spokesman for the radical and progressive movements, not only and not even so much those of the past period but the new ones that are sure to develop.

Individual radicals formerly under the influenceof Stalinism may be recruitied to a revolutionary sect. But the bulk of these who are still ready to work for socialism can be attracted only to an organization which is a serious political movement or which has the possibility of being developed into such a movement. From this point of view, too, the ISL favors unity with the SP as the organization which it is possible to build up as a serious pole of attraction to all radicals of yesterday, today and tomorrow, which offers a significant alternative to Stalinism in the struggle against capitalism and imperialism. If the SP takes advantage of the real possibilities that are arising before our eyes it will be able to become just such a pole of attraction. Meanwhile, in discussions with the various socalled "pro-Soviet" elements in and outside the CP we emphasize above all our minimum political platform for democratic socialist regroupment and present and defend the ISL's proposal that it unite with the SP. We strongly urge that the SP enter into all the current debates and discussions on regroupment.

4. Our aim with regard to the Socialist Party must serve in turn our wider long range aim with regard to the labor movement, as the most important of the mass movements in the country. The present period is a long intenlude between the last radicalization wave and the one to come. In such a period it is not possible to think in terms of a genuinely powerful socialist movement numbering many tens of thousands and influencing many hundreds of thousands and more. But it is possible and necessary to utilize to the maximum all the possibilities now at hand to consolidate during this interlude the kind of socialist movement that will be best able to assist the working class in its further economic and political progress and be assisted in turn by the most conscious elements from its ranks who join and build the socialist wing of the labor movement.

The ISL has no grandiloquent illusions about the immediate possibilities for a powerful socialist movement. It is however anxious to do all in its power to utilizae present concrete possibilities, no matter how modest, in conscious preparation for the much greater possibilities of the future. It is also in this sense that the ISL is prepared to unite with the Socialist Party and to pursue a course of building it up that willbest advance the cause and influence of socialism in the labor movement, now and later. It is in the same sense that we refuse to support any movement which equivocates on the key question of the Stalinist regimes, for, among other reasons, it is precisely the identification of Stalinism with socialism in the minds of the American working class that has militated so strongly against the progress of socialism in this country.

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DIRECTOR, FBI 2/20/57

SAC, NEW YORK (100-49733)

SOCIALIST PARTY - USA -
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION
MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION CONCERNING

The "New York Times," 1/20/57, carried an article which reflected the Socialist Party - USA and a section of the Social Democratic Federation which had previously split from it in 1936, merged on 1/19/57 at a Unity Convention called in the name of both organizations at NY. The new organization will be known as the Socialist Party - Social Democratic Federation.

Mayor FRANK ZEIDLER, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, was elected National Chairman of the organization.

An article appearing in the "New York Post," a NY daily newspaper, stated that NORMAN THOMAS "frequently an SP presidential candidate" had stated he did not expect to play an active role in the new organization but would remain loyal to it.

The above is being furnished for the information of the Bureau and no action is being taken by the NYO.

4 - Bureau (100-)(Socialist Party - USA) (RM)
(2 - Buffalo 100-66458) (Social Democratic Federation)
1 - Milwaukee (Info) (RM)
1 - NY 62-117[illegible] (NORMAN THOMAS)
1 - NY 100-21[illegible] (Social Democratic Federation)
1 - NY 100-[illegible]

TEW:AJW
(8)

100-49738-110

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, New York (100-49738) (7-4) DATE: 3/11/57

FROM : SA John T. Murphy

SUBJECT: Socialist Party
IS-S

On 3/11/57 the writer received the following items through a confidential mailbox and they are being made an exhibit in captioned file:

Application for membership - Socialist Party - Social Democratic Federation.

Letter from SP-SDF dated 2/27/57.

Leaflet "Socialist Unity in America.

100-49738-111

SEARCHED..... INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED..... FILED.....
MAR 11 1957

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-86590) 3/5/57

SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-3476)

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OO: NEW YORK

On 2/23/57, [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past and whose identity should be concealed, furnished SA [redacted] with a copy of a "Memorandum on Our Perspective and Orientation in the Matter of Socialist Unity". Informant received a copy of this "memorandum" at an ISL meeting in Los Angeles, those present being advised that a few copies of this "memorandum" had been received from the New York ISL to promote discussion preceeding the convention. Pertinent portions of this "memorandum" are quoted below:

> "..... Objectively, all the discussions, ferment and reconsiderations now manifest in all the sections of the socialist, Stalinist and intermediate groups, even though precipitated apparently by the outbreak of the crisis in the Stalinist world abroad, boil down to resolving the problem of how to achieve or restore the union of socialist (or pseudo socialist) ideas and the labor movement from the standpoint of each of the factors and tendencies involved. So it is the case, as it necessarily must be, with the ISL. Our decisions must facilitate, not in some unrealizably ideal or abstract sense but in the sense of the maximum possible under the concrete circumstances, the advancement of our ideas of democratic socialism in the ranks of labor and Negro movements, and the corresponding growth of a socialist movement based upon these broad mass movements and exercising an increasing influence among them.....the

100-49736-113

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4 - Bureau (Encl. 2) REGISTERED
(2-100-86590)
(2-Socialist Party)
4 - New York (Encl. 2) REGISTERED
(2-ISL 100-6680)
(2-Socialist Party)
3 - Los Angeles
(1-ISL 100-3476)
(1-[illegible]-183)
([redacted])

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INDEXED
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MAR 11 1957
FBI — NEW YORK

extent to which it is possible to create or build an effective socialist regrouping as an alternative pole of attraction to that constituted by Stalinism, will determine in large measure the degree to which these groups shake off the remnants of the ideology of Stalinism..... While we seek friendly contact and discussion, free from violent polemics, with such groups and individuals, we must decline sponsorship and responsibility for any organization or "semi-organization" which associates us with any group that has not declared plainly, whatever its estimate of the social nature or course of development of the Stalinist countries, that it is hostile to and independent of the totalitarian regimes that rule them, and supports all genuinely democratic movements and struggles against these regimes..... We do not refrain from advancing our own theoretical position, but we do not make it, or the position of any other tendency, the pre-condition for unity.....This viewpoint indicates that we do not regard or put forward the ISL as the basis of the reunification of the socialist movement, but do consider it as an indispensable element of the unity and as a tendency in it enjoying full equality with all others.....1. The ISL is in favor of unity with the Socialist Party because it can become the framework for such a unification and make a tremendous contribution toward its advancement..... The ISL decides firmly in favor of unity with the Socialist Party as it is at present constituted and without posing any conditions of an organizational or political kind save those that are incontestable for all members enjoying equality of rights and duties.....It is precisely in this sense that the Socialist Party has the possibility of displacing the Stalinist Party as the leader and spokesman for the radical and progressive

movements, not only and not even so much those of the past period but the new ones that are sure to develop.

Individual radicals formerly under the influence of Stalinism may be recruitied to a revoluntionary sect. But the bulk of those who are still ready to work for socialism can be attracted only to an organization which is a serious political movement or which has the possibility of being developed into such a movement. From this point of view, too, the ISL favors unity with the SP as the organization which it is possible to build up as a serious pole of attraction to all radicals of yesterday, today and tomorrow, which offers a significant alternative to Stalinism in the struggle against capitalism and imperialism.....

The ISL has no grandiloquent illusions about the immediate possibilities for a powerful socialist movement. It is however anxious to do all in its power to utilizae present concrete possibilities, no matter how modest, in conscious preparation for the much greater possibilities of the future. It is also in this sense that the ISL is prepared to unite with the Socialist Party and to pursue a course of building it up that will best advance the cause and influence of socialism in the labor movement, now and later. It is in the same sense that we refuse to support any movement which equivocates on the key question of the Stalinist regimes, for, among other reasons, it is precisely the identification of Stalinism with socialism in the minds of the American working class that has militated so strongly against the progress of socialism in this country."

SAC, NEW YORK (100-126432) 3/11/57

SA A. LEWIS BARNETT

YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE
NEW YORK DIVISION
IS - ISL

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b7D

Source [redacted] (Protect)

Reliability Who has furnished reliable information in the past.

Date of Activity 2/8/57

Received By SAs [redacted] and [redacted]

Location 100-126432-334

The source furnished a mimeographed sheet entitled, "NEW YORK ORGANIZER's BULLETIN," which is set forth below:

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"YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE

New York Organizer's Bulletin

"Dear Comrades:

The rest of January will be a very busy time for the New York unit. As you all know, there will be a plenum of the National Executive Committee of the YSL held here in New York on the weekend of Jan. 26th. Every member of the YSL should plan to attend; you will have an opportunity to meet some of our out-of-town comrades and to sit in on the plenum discussion. (There will also be a party Saturday night at the hall - 9P.M.) The 3 major topics are: 1) Socialist Unity; 2) The developments in the C.P., and 3) the Civil Rights struggle. The Exec. has scheduled a preplenum discussion for the unit, to be held Saturday morning, Jan. 19 at 10 A.M. There will be presentation of opposing views and full time for discussion from the floor. The morning schedule will cover Socialist Unity and the afternoon will deal with the CP.

100-49738-114

1 - NY 100-49738 (Socialist Party)(7-3)
1 - NY 100-128968 (Liberation)(7-3)
1 - NY 100-0 (I.F. Stone's Weekly)(7-2)
1 - NY 100-121808 [redacted](7-3)
1 - NY 100-125547 ("Anvil and Student Partisan")(7-3)
1 - NY 100-128134 [redacted](7-3)
1 - NY 100-115458 [redacted](7-3)
(ALB:ajk)

MEMO
NY 100-126432

"The newest issue of the YSR is out. If you haven't gotten one by the time this communication reaches you, then call the office or come in and get one, for it contains the latest documents on the referendum plus the official ballot. The deadline for voting is Jan. 26. They should be turned in to me personally or to another exec. member so that they may be validated. The NAC has decided that only those comrades who were members as of Nov. 15 are eligible to vote. Copies of the draft resolutions for the plenum will also be available for every member in a few days.

"The Exec. voted 5 to 1 to order small bundles of the following publications for sale on our literature table: "The Socialist Call", Liberation and I.F. Stone's Weekly. The committee felt that sales of the above publications would not (and should not) interfere with sales and distribution of Young Socialist Challenge or Anvil. A motion to sell the Militant was defeated by 5 to 1.

"ANVIL sales are going pretty well, but we are a long way from the 1000 (minimum) which New York must sell in order to ensure the future publication of ANVIL. It is an excellent issue from every standpoint and can be sold easily. But it is necessary for each and every comrade to participate in the ANVIL sales. Joan is in charge of sales. We are trying to sell them at political meeting and at any large event which may attract young people or others who might be persuaded to buy copies of ANVIL. If you hear about meetings, concerts, fold-sings, etc., let Joan know about it so that someone can be sent. ANVIL is too good a magazine to let it go under - remember, New York's sales are crucial for ANVIL, financially speaking.

"We will begin a new series of classes in February. A leaflet will be mailed out in a week describing the classes and listing a bibliography. Sy is in charge of educationals

and is also literature director. If you want to order any books or pamphlets (thru LABS) see him.

"Enroll for Freedom is doing quite well. City College has sent in about $75 and Columbia promises to go over the $100 mark. It looks as if it may get as many as 2500 signatures altogether.

"Calendar for January.

"JANUARY 18 Friday,	Discussion Forum: CAN THE LEFT UNITE? Farrell Dobbs, A.J. Muste John Mc Manus, and Max Shachtman. Great Northern Hotel 118 W. 57 St. NYC
"JANUARY 19 Saturday:	New York unit discussion of plenum topics. 10 AM and continuing all day till 6 PM Party in the evening.
"JANUARY 20, Sunday,	8 P.M. *"The radical and labor movement in the 1920's."
"JANUARY 26-27	N.E.C. Plenum, first session S t. morning. Party at 9 PM.
"FEBRUARY 1	New York Business meeting. Elections and re-organization.

"* COMRADE JIM SFARKUS will speak on his experiences in the radical and labor movement in the 20's. This should be an especially interesting talk - all comrades are urged to attend."

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80693)

3/4/57

SA A. LEWIS BARNETT

YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE
IS-ISL

b2
b7D

SOURCE: [redacted] (protect)
RELIABILITY: Who has furnished reliable information in the past
DATE OF ACTIVITY: (see below)
DATE RECEIVED: 2/8/57
RECEIVED BY: SAS [redacted] and [redacted]
LOCATION: 100-80693-1301

The source furnished a two-page mimeographed document which is set forth below:

Motion on the Recent Political Course of the Y.S.L.

b6
b7C

The NEC takes note of the following political acts undertaken by leading bodies and organs of our movement and of the fraternally related ISL.

1. We note the support offered the SP by both the YSL and ISL in the last election as against all other socialist candidates. We note that this support was offered with no criticism of the SP's political line during the election. Labor Action in its electoral statement and MAX SHACHTMAN in his Liberation articles mentioned the existence of "differences" between the two tendencies -- but he did not mention the nature of these differences. No criticism was offered of the support given to American Imperialism by HOOPES and FRIEDMAN during the election. We consider this to be in violation of the position adopted by the last meeting of the NEC, which, while supporting the SP, attempted to exclude support of the SP's politics.

2. We further note that ever since the de facto adoption of a policy in favor of unity with the SP, no criticism has been made either in Labor Action or the Young Socialist Challenge of the pro-imperialist policies of the American representative of the social democracy, the SP-SDF. The SP's action in support of "internationalization" of the Suez Canal -- i.e., turning it over to American capitalism -- plus statements in the December Call in support of UN intervention into Hungary -- i.e., turning the Hungarian workers over to American capitalism -- offered ample opportunity for such criticism. In addition the recent merger of the SP with the SDF on a program of State Department socialism also demanded a principled, critical attack from revolutionary Marxists.

1-Cincinnatti 100-12285 ([redacted]) (RM)
1-New York 100-127167 [redacted] (7-3)
1-New York 100-117355 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1-New York 100-49738 (SOCIALIST PARTY) (7-3)
1-New York 100-126432 (YSL,NYDIVISION) (7-3)
ALB:mcl
(6)

100-49738-115

MEMO
NY 100-80693

3. MAX SHACHTMAN -- head of the fraternally related ISL -- appeared before the radical public in NYC at the recent forum on regroupment and refused to mention a single criticism of the pro-imperialist policies of the SP-SDF. This act was defended by the majority of the YSL NAC.

4. The New York YSL Executive committee recently passed a motion to begin sales of the Call on a regular basis on the literature table of the YSL during all our functions. We note that the policies of the Call are contrary to those of the YSL and are precisely the politics which we find it necessary to break many of our contracts away from.

5. The New York YSL executive committee and Labor Action are supporting the meeting sponsored by the SP-SDF and LID at which ANNA KETHLY spoke. We further note that according to the December Call Miss KETHLY, upon being recognized by the UN as a delegate from Hungary, will "call for a United Nations Emergency Force to be dispatched to Hungary." We consider such a force to be the arm of American imperialism and dedicate ourselves to protect the Hungarian revolution from both Stalinist counter-revolution and American imperialism.

6. We observe that because of the general orientation towards unity with the SP on the basis of the SP right wing's politics and because of the lack of any effort by the leadership, our membership is not being educated about the nature of Social Democracy. This lack of revolutionaryMarxist education is so deplorably evident that a member of the NAC who supports unity recently remarked that an invasion from the right could sweep away many of our members and that some members are proposing entrance into the SP now as individuals.

Taking into account the above trend which when looked at in its entirety spells out support for the defenders of American imperialism within the socialist movement, we wish to make known our basic disagrement with the approach of these bodies and organs of our movement. We call for a reversal of this right wing opportunist course. This entire course is in violation of the fundamental principles upon which our movement was created -- revolutionary socialist opposition to capitalism and Stalinism.

MEMO
NY 100-80693

We of the NEC remind the comrades that opposition to capitalism and its agents is no whit less important than opposition to Stalinism and its agents. We call for a return to this basic conception. We call for a struggle to maintain the YSL as a revolutionary Marxist youth organization.

b6
b7C

--Submitted by: [redacted] and [redacted]

MAR 4 1957

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80693)

SA A. LEWIS BARNETT

YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE
IS-ISL

Source	[redacted] (Protect)	b2 b7D
Reliability	Who has furnished reliable information in the past	
Date of Activity	2/8/57	
Date Received	2/8/57	
Received by	SAS [redacted] and [redacted]	
Location	100-80693-1299	

The source furnished a one page mimeographed article with the heading, "[illegible]-GEORGE, SP Unity Amendment". This article is set forth below: b6 b7C

"The basic differences that exist between the SP and our tendency result from our different analysis of the American social system and state. The majority of the SP and particularly those who are its major public spokesmen hold that class conflict in America, to the extent that it has ever existed, is so ameliorated as to be a minor question. They hold that the state defends the society as a whole rather than the narrow interests of one particular class. Thus they consider themselves responsible critics of the State Department abroad and the Justice Department at home. Thus they defend aspects of the witch-hunt against the Communists - e.g., denial of the right of Stalinists to teach; as well as defending the general political and economic interests of American capitalism abroad - e.g., the Marshall Plan and NATO. Therefore, many of them generalize this view to deny the need for a class party of the working people, i.e., a Labor Party, and think in terms of a classless 'people's party."

1 - New York (100-117896) ([redacted]) (7-3)
1 - New York (100-124239) ([redacted]) (7-3) 100-49378-116
1 - New York (100-49738) (Socialist Party) (7-3)

ABB:elw
(4)

7-3
3/12/57

"Our differences with these views are basic. We would therefore be opposed to unity if the purpose were to build a homogeneous, highly programmatic party, but rather, we counterpose a broad Debsian inclusive party which would permit full right to express differing viewpoints within and without the Party."

SAC, CHICAGO, (100-18099)

3/4/57

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80693)

YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE
IS-ISL

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b7D

SOURCE: [redacted] (protect)
RELIABILITY: who has furnished reliable info in the past
DATE OF ACTIVITY: (see below)
DATE RECEIVED: 2/8/57
RECEIVED BY: SAC [redacted] and [redacted]
LOCATION: 100-80693-1300

The source furnished a two-page mimeographed document which is set forth below:

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Proposed NAC Statement on the Organization of the Internal Discussion of the Unity Question and on Internal Democracy in the YSL

Immediately following the last meeting of the NAC, a call for a referendum on our electoral policy was initiated by a number of units who wished this issue to be decided immediately. It was for this reason that they did not urge a special convention. The NAC put off the date for closing the referendum until Dec. 15, 1956 -- safely after the election.

In the meantime, without the issue having been decided by the membership and with full knowledge of the extent of dissatisfaction with the NAC's position, the NAC majority went ahead to support the candidates of the SP. However, they did not mention this support of the SP ticket in Challenge as they did not wish to open up a public discussion of the issue. Comrade MARTIN felt that if such a discussion were opened in our press the letters of those supporting all three socialist candidates would have to be censored by the NAC to insure that they did not offend the SP.

Even though the documents for the last IDR on the matter were submitted in plenty of time for the Dec. 15 deadline they were not published and the date was first extended to Jan. 15,

100-49738-117

2-Chicago (100-18099) (RM)
(1-100-) (ED (LEU)
1-Cincinnati (100-12205) ([redacted]) (7-3)
1-New York (100-127167) ([redacted]) (7-3)
1-New York (100-117355) ([redacted]) (7-3)
1-New York (100-49738) ([redacted]) (7-3)
1-New York (100-[illegible]) ([redacted]) (7-3)
1-New York (100-80693)
[illegible]

1957 and finally to Jan. 26. This extension of the referendum debate plus the majority's continuous postponements in writing the necessary document delayed and obstructed the pre-plenum discussion of the unity question. Meanwhile the members of the NAC majority proceeded to implement their position. They conducted informal negotiations with leaders of the SP and subordinated every public utterance and activity of the ISL to their position on the unity question. The stalling of the discussion in no way inhibited their activity. If anything it seems to have encouraged it.

On Sunday, December 6, 1956, TIM WOHLFORTH, as a member of the NAC, submitted a statement on unity to the NAC. That same evening, MAX MARTIN also submitted a statement. WOHLFORTH'S statement was voted down and the NO proceeded to transfer it onto stencils. On Thursday of the same week, following the meeting of the ISL Political Committee the previous night, MARTIN called a special emergency executive session of the NAC. At this meeting the other NAC members in unison informed WOHLFORTH that they would not print his document or allow it to be circulated among the membership unless all quotations of the viewpoint of various SPers on the unity question be stricken, as well as certain sections rewritten which in the eyes of the majority of the NAC suggested that the ISL and YSL were engaged in a maneuver. They also insisted that WOHLFORTH could not quote some comments SHACHTMAN made on unity, nor mention the statement of the ISL PC.

WOHLFORTH protested this move, claiming that it was his right as a member of the YSL to express himself freely to the membership. He did not consider the question of quoting the views of members of a rival organization a principled question and pointed out that Labor Action had done likewise with SWP internal views.

In order to have the document published in some form he agreed to attempt to rewrite it. On Saturday night he submitted a new version of the document revised according to the NAC's restrictions. It contained some new material and a protest against the suppression of his original document. Another emergency session was held on Tuesday at which WOHLFORTH was informed that the mention of the suppressed document would not be allowed. He again protested and demanded the right to at least inform the membership of the fact that his document had been censored. The majority of the NAC felt such a statement would not look good in the eyes of the SP. It further placed WOHLFORTH as well as the rest of the NAC "under the discipline" not to discuss the matter with the membership.

NY 100-80693

The NAC promised to distribute both documents to NEC members before the plenum. This it did not do. It also prevented WOHLFORTH from mentioning either document in his minority report to the internal meeting of the NY unit.

WOHLFORTH protested this to a fellow NEC member, SHAW who in turn mentioned it to a comrade (Comrade Ed) in Chicago. An emergency executive committee meeting of the Chicago unit sent an immediate letter of protest and request for information to the NAC. Despite WOHLFORTH's request that full information be sent to Chicago so they could register their feeling to the plenum, this reply was not sent. The whole matter was turned over to the NEC.

We of the NEC emphatically condemn this encroachment on the democratic rights of a YSL member to freely express himself within the organization. Despite whatever may individually think of Comrade WOHLFORTH's views we support his right to express his views to the membership without arbitrary limitations.

We call for a return to our basic principle of internal democracy and for the beginning of a frank and comradely discussion on the basic questions now before our movement. Under present conditions we feel that those in opposition to unity with the SP have not been allowed to present their position to the membership before this NEC meeting was convened. We therefore call for a full and free internal discussion to be followed by a democratically elected convention of the organization to decide the issue.

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Presented by: [redacted] and [redacted]

Socialist Groups In Unity Move

7-3

A merger of the Socialist Party and a segment of the Social Democratic Federation took place Saturday at a "unity convention" in the Biltmore Hotel where 50 delegates acting for each ratified a previous unifying action by the groups' national committees. New name of the organization will be the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation. Mayor Frank Zieder of Milwaukee was elected national chairman.

The move was led by Louis P. Goldberg, national chairman of the federation, whose action promptly was repudiated at a Saturday convention in Philadelphia of the Jewish Socialist Verband, its largest affiliate, by a vote of 87 to 7. Largest local branch of the federation, New York's, by a vote of 41 to 9 opposed the unity move.

The delegates passed a resolution inviting "all democratic Socialist groups and individuals to join with us in helping to make real the concept of human fellowship in freedom."

It declared the goal of the merged organization was "to defeat human misery by human genius."

A message from Hugh Gaitskell, chairman of the British Labor Party, recorded before his return to Britain, greeted "the new united party" on behalf of the British party. Greetings from the Asian Socialist Conference and nine Socialist parties also were received.

The convention unanimously warned against "hypocritical pleas from Stalin's heirs for united fronts between Communists and Socialists."

Guests at a dinner included Anna Kethly of Hungary, Jules Moch of France, Austen Albu of Britain, U On Sein of Burma, Dr. Adolph Reiffenstadt of Germany and Alsing Andersen of Denmark. Yesterday the convention continued with sessions closed to the public.

CLIPPING FROM THE
DAILY WORKER
DATED 1/21/57
Pg. 4 Col. 3

100-49738-118

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
MAR 5 1957
FBI — NEW YORK

7-3

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM.....UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-16) DATE: 3/13/57
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-4013)
SUBJECT: Socialist Workers Party
IS - SWP

Source	[redacted] (possible PSI)
Reliability	who has furnished reliable information in the past
Information furnished	SWP open forum, held 1/25/57
Date received	1/29/57
Received by	SA [redacted]
Location	[redacted]

[redacted] furnished, as set forth above, a written report covering a forum held by the SWP on 1/25/57 at their headquarters, 116 University Place, New York City.

2 - Bureau (100-16) (RM)
1 - Newark (100-) ([redacted]) (RM)
1 - [redacted] (P &C) (#7-3)
1 - NY 100-21059 (SDF) (#7-3)
1 - NY 100-85923 ([redacted]) (#7-3)
1 - NY 100-49738 (Socialist Party) (#7-3)
1 - NY 100-6680 (ISL) (#7-1)
1 - NY 100-80693 (YSL) (#7-1)
1 - NY 100-59096 ([redacted]) (#7-3)
1 - NY 100-117896 ([redacted]) (#7-3)
1 - NY 100-116594 ([redacted]) (#7-3)
1 - NY 100-108285 ([redacted]) (#7-3)
1 - NY 100-101850 ([redacted]) (#7-3)
1 - NY 100-120598 ([redacted] LNU) (#7-3)
1 - NY 100-126921 ([redacted]) (#7-3)
1 - NY 100-126922 ([redacted]) (#7-3)
1 - NY 100-114528 ([redacted]) (#7-3)
1 - NY 100-117643 ([redacted] LNU) (#7-3) (Previously described by [redacted] as [redacted] at NYU)
1 - NY 100-130558 ([redacted]) (#7-3)
1 - NY 100-130369 ([redacted]) (#7-3)
1 - NY 100-111294 ([redacted]) (#7-3)

GPB:apd
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100-49738-119

(Copies continued next page)

SEARCHED.....
SERIALIZED.....
MAR 13 1957
FBI - NEW YORK

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NY 100-4013

[redacted]'s report reflects the following:

The forum was devoted to an attack on the Socialist Party of the United States for yielding on several points of belief to the Social Democratic Federation upon the occasion of their mutual unification. The forum began with [redacted] introducing [redacted]. [redacted] first enunciated the basic Marxist contention that class struggle is the motive force of history. He then gave the history of the socialist movement in the United States and Europe, saying that there had been a continual struggle in the movement between Marxism and reformism. [redacted] lashed out at reformist socialists for defending their own capitalist classes during World War I. He further stated that following World War II the Colonial Revolutions and the victorious Chinese Revolution was a tremendous blow at American and world imperialism.

In discussing the USSR, [redacted] stated that political concessions were made to the workers by the Kremlin Bureaucracy after the death of Stalin. Following this came the KHRUSHCHEV

1-NY 100-122015 ([redacted]) (#7-3)
1-NY 100-122864 ([redacted]) (#7-3)
1-NY 100-93735 ([redacted]) (#7-3)
1-NY 100-115760 ([redacted]) (#7-3)
1-NY 100-88179 ([redacted]) (#7-3)
1-NY 100-92522 ([redacted]) (#7-3)
1-NY 100-114584 ([redacted]) (#7-3)
1-NY 116-57929 ([redacted]) (#7-3)
1-NY 100-80679 ([redacted]) (#7-3)
1-NY 100-119289 ([redacted]) (#7-3)
1-NY 100-118388 ([redacted]) (#7-3)
1-NY 100-4013

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b7C

revelations against STALIN's infallibility and the Polish and Hungarian uprisings. In the United States, during this same period, according to [redacted], the socialist groups all moved slowly to the right. With regard to the SP-SDF merger, [redacted] described it as a right wing non-all inclusive party. [redacted] went on to say that the left wing of the SP, the revolutionary democratic socialists, would have no place inside the SP-SDF. He quoted an article by NORMAN THOMAS, published in "The Call" in which severe terms are laid down for entrance into the SP-SDF by groups farther to the left. [redacted] claimed this was aimed at merger plans of the ISL and the YSL in connection with the SP-SDF. [redacted] argued that the ISL and YSL would have to yield on principles and crawl to get in to the SP-SDF.

In closing his speech, [redacted] reitterated that the class struggle is the motive force in history. He described it as a battle between the oppressor and the oppressed and the capitalist versus the working class. He proceeded to list the terms of the SWP for regroupment. This included:

1) Non-support of capitalist candidates, even if supported by labor "bureaucracy".

2) The fight against the witch hunt and support of all victims thereof, including CP'ers.

3) The unconditional support of the Negro struggle in the United States.

4) Support of all anti-colonial independence movements.

In the discussion period following [redacted]'s speech, [redacted] replied to [redacted]'s contention that the ISL and YSL would have to crawl to get unification with the SP-SDF. [redacted] stated that the unification the ISL and YSL had in mind was in essence a loose federation with minority rights,

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including the right to publish ones own organ.

Following the discussion period, [redacted] announced the topics of future forums, pointed out the literature table in the rear of the hall and then ended the meeting.

After this, little groups gathered together in which the SWP members indulged in private conversations or argued with the ISL and YSL members present.

[redacted] estimated 50 individuals present at the above described forum and all individuals to whose file a copy of instant memo has been designated can be identified as present from [redacted]'s report. Individuals known to [redacted] by first name only or by an incorrect spelling of their name have been identified through description furnished by him.

[redacted] added additional comments in regard to some of these individuals as follows:

[redacted] had charge of the money box

[redacted] was present in the company of

[redacted] and [redacted] were present from the start as YSL representatives, but more YSL'ers arrived after the forum.

[redacted], from the SP-SDF, also arrived after the forum was over. He came along with YSL members from a SP-SDF sponsored (ANNA) KETHLY meeting.

[redacted] was heard by [redacted] to critize the SWP's sectarian manifestations in the field of the English language and vigorously defend the left and right wings of the SP. [redacted] in turn was subjected to a harsh, unfair, Leninist criticism by [redacted], according to [redacted].

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[redacted] also set forth in his report that [redacted] "seemed to have been the only person there with some sense. If it could be done, the government should do all in its power to encourage union between the ISL, YSL and SP-SDF, because the ISL and YSL will lose all its revolutionary aspects and the members thereof will become more and more normal."

Concerning [redacted], [redacted]'s report sets forth that although [redacted] spoke with conviction, he aped the mannerisms of LEON TROTSKY and used the stale verbiage and hackneyed ideas of LENIN and TROTSKY. [redacted] received the impression from [redacted] that although the SP-SDF is admittedly friendly to democracy and social reforms, the SWP hates its leaders and its program and is bent on weakening and contemning it in everyone elses eyes.

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DE 100-9025
LMC:BAV
(28)
PRESENT AT MEETING
[redacted]
100-16923 (B.J. WIDICK)
100-16984 ([redacted])
100-19532 ([redacted])
122-128 ([redacted])
100-17246 ([redacted])
100-23219 ([redacted])
100-13066 ([redacted])
100-23900 ([redacted])
100-25722 ([redacted])

100-49738-120

SEARCHED [illegible] INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED [illegible] FILED [illegible]
MAR 14 1957
FBI - NEW YORK

NOT AT MEETING - INFO ONLY

100-6075 (COMINFIL UAW)
100-12314 ([redacted])
100-14770 ([redacted])
122-49 ([redacted])
100-9395 (SOCIALIST PARTY)
100-25840 (DISSENT GROUP)
100-9043 ([redacted])
100-22644 (SUA)(COCHRANITES)
100-19519 ([redacted])
[redacted]

5 - New York (REGISTERED)
(100-6680 (ISL)
(100- (A. J. MUSTE)
(100- (SOCIALIST PARTY)
(100- ([redacted])
(100- ([redacted])

TO : SAC, DETROIT (100-9025) DATE: March 13, 1957

FROM : SA [redacted]

SUBJECT: ISL
IS - ISL

INFORMANT: [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past - protect

ACTIVITY: 2/22/57 RECEIVED BY: SA [redacted]

RECEIVED: 3/1/57 LOCATION: [redacted]

The Informant advised that a meeting of the members of the ISL was held at the home of [redacted], [redacted], Detroit, Michigan, on 2/22/57.

Searched ____ Indexed ____
Serialized ____ Filed ____
3/13/57
FBI - Detroit

The following pertinent portions of the Informant's report are set forth ver batim:

"B.J. Widick reported on the elections in the various locals of the UAW and the different candidates that were elected as delegates to the UAW Convention that will be held sometime in April; Widick talked most about the defeat of Pat Coruso in Local 212 (Briggs) as a candidate for delegate to the Convention. He said that a strong faction at the Local was against the proposed dues increase and they defeated all of candidates that were for it, but the surprising thing about it, Widick said, was the fact that being President of the Local he did not even make good as an alternate delegate.

"At his own local 7 he said that he was supporting the men that are against the dues increase, but he was doing that, not because he was, or is, against the increase, but because, he could later use that fact in drawing a slate of candidates in the Local elections of Officers; He did not elaborate.

"There was much discussion on this subject of the trend against the dues increase by the membership, and the resentment against the entire official leadership of the Union, from the Local level to the very top brass; The Steel Workers Union election, and the defeat of McDonald was given as an example.

"Widick reported on the meeting he and [redacted] attended Monday February 18, 1957: The only names he mentioned were, [redacted] and [redacted]; He did not say were the meeting was held, but he did say that as far as winning over the above mentioned people to the support of the ISL and the SP Unity question, Widick felt that he had convinced them that Unity of all Socialist groups, as proposed by the ISL was the only way Unity could be worked out for all Socialist groups. ([redacted] is probably [redacted].)

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"[redacted] said that he did not think that Widick had convinced them that easy; [redacted] felt that [redacted] was retreating from the direct question during the entire evening, because he was ([redacted]) insisting that the first step should be, was to get a separate charter to organize a mixed branch here in Detroit first, and see how

"it works out; altho [redacted] did not press the point throughout the evening that was his trend, [redacted] said, and he further stated that perhaps [redacted] could be convinced sooner than [redacted], that it should be worked out on a National bases.

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"Widick conceded that [redacted] would like to have it organized on the local level, but he felt that [redacted] would have to go along if enough of the Dissent Group would go along on the ISL plan, or people like A.J. Muste supported the Unity program.

"Widick said that he has had more talks with the New York office of the ISL and that, in New York City the Unity question has taken tremendous strides, and that meetings are being held by all kinds of Socialist groups, and that whenever branch meetings are held (ISL) in New York they have a large turn-out of members that seldom went to meetings over the past few years; He said that here in Detroit we dont have any idea how much interest is shown in other cities to this very important question, because, there are people in the Socialist movement in this town that are stupid and dont know what Socialism is; It will be a big job to convince some of these, but, most of them will go along when they see the light. Widick said that to help things along here in Detroit as much as possible, Herman Benson will visit here on a week-end in about three weeks, and arrangements will be made to have him speak to a few of the Dissent Group and to others that are interested; Widick feels that Bauer and some of the Cochranites could be invited to hear Benson while he is here; Widick read some parts of an article in the American Socialist written by Harvey Braverman, and Widick said that never have they conceded so much in a written article; Widick feels that with the trend already in their press, leaning towards Unity, that it wont be to much of a job to line them up, because they know when they see the handwriting on the wall.

"Widick said that he did not know the exact date Benson would get here because he did not now just when he (Benson) would be able to get away from New York.

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"The rest of the evening was spent talking about [redacted].

"Next meeting will be held March 3, 1957 at [redacted]'s house, [redacted]. b6 b7C

"Note:

"Widick said that everybody is going to attend a matinee stage show Sunday March 3.

"[redacted] and [redacted] are also going to attend the Wayne U Players stage show Friday night March 1.

"Widick gave [redacted] $5.00 for the Fund Drive. "[redacted] is a Veteran and served in the South Pacific."

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5 - New York (RM)
(100- ISL)
(100- [redacted])
(100- ALBERT GATES)
(100- MAX SHACHTMAN)
C (100- SOCIALIST PARTY)

DE 100-9025
LMC:BAV
(21)

[redacted]
100-16923 (B.J. WIDICK)
100-16984 ([redacted])
122-128 ([redacted])
100-19532 ([redacted])
100-17856 ([redacted])
100-23219 ([redacted])
100-13066 ([redacted])
100-23900 ([redacted])
100-25722 [redacted]
100-26036 [redacted]

NOT AT MEETING - INFO ONLY
100-19042 ([redacted])
100-6075 (COMINFIL UAW)
100-9395 (SOCIALIST PARTY)
100-12314 ([redacted])
100-14770 ([redacted])
122-49 [redacted]
100-20222 ([redacted])
100-25840 ("DISSENT" GROUP)
100-20596 ([redacted])

TO : SAC, DETROIT (100-9025) DATE: March 13, 1957

FROM : SA [redacted]

SUBJECT: ISL
IS - ISL

INFORMANT: [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past - protect

ACTIVITY: 2/17/57 RECEIVED BY: SA [redacted]

RECEIVED: 2/21/57 LOCATION: [redacted]

The Informant advised that a meeting of the members of the ISL was held at the home of [redacted], Detroit, Michigan, on 2/17/57. The Informant advised that those individuals for whom a copy of this memo is designated were present at the meeting unless otherwise indicated in the dissemination portion thereof. The Informant advised that Mrs. [redacted] was so busy putting the children to bed and later running to the store for food and refreshments that she only heard the last few minutes of the discussion.

The Informant advised that before [redacted] and [redacted] came in together, B. J. WIDICK got to talking about the various union leaders that have been trusted with money belonging to the workers and who never have to make an

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MAR 14 1957
FBI - NEW YORK

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FBI - Detroit

100-49738-121

accounting for the money they spend. WIDICK said that these union leaders should all be thrown in jail when they refuse to answer questions concerning matters of stealing money from the workers and, under no circumstances, should they be allowed to use the 5th Amendment. WIDICK said that a person does not have to answer questions when they are call upon to become stool pigeons and said that he did not acknowledge that he even knew HAL DRAPER when they asked him at the Washington hearing last year. WIDICK was asked if he thought the Senate would get BECK of the Teamsters Union and WIDICK said that they will get him if they want to because the FBI has got a lot on BECK as well as everybody else that the political powers want to get. WIDICK claimed that the FBI is a political force and is used to pressure big crooks and politicians which ever they want to. WIDICK said that right now his wife had been approached 3 or 4 times in the past week by the FBI. WIDICK said "the dirty b-------s only pester her when they know the man of the house is at work." WIDICK said that he told his wife to run over or into anyone that tries to stop her from driving away.

WIDICK talked about his defeat for delegate to the UAW Convention but he said that he was going on his own anyway. [redacted] and [redacted] came in and [redacted] passed out copies of a "Memorandum on Perspectives and Orientation in the Matter of Socialist Unity" for study. There were only 4 copies to be passed around so [redacted] was asked to read the whole memo, which he did. Previous to reading this memo, [redacted] read a letter from ALBERT GATES in which the dates for the ISL Convention to be held in New York City were announced as July 5, 6, and 7, 1957.

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WIDICK commented that these dates were those dates for the convention and would not be changed. Most of the other members present were sure that changes would be made because there never was an original date decided upon that was not changed. Most the opposition against this date for the convention was the fact that the UAW and the other unions had a clause in the agreements that one must work the day before a legal holiday and the day after to get paid for the holiday. [redacted] remarked that in the eastern locals there was no such clause because it had been dropped 10 years ago.

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DE 100-9025

After the memo was read WIDICK made a few comments on the importance of socialist unity to all the radicals, both outside of the Socialist Party and inside the Socialist Party. [redacted] said that it would only be natural for the left wing of the Socialist Party (SP) to follow the leadership of the ISL but who was going to tell the SP that this will happen, that we are for unity all the way, more so than other groups who are former Stalinoids, Trotskyites, Cannonites, and Cochranites, who are all left wingers but they must change their position on being critical supporters of Russia and follow a sound leadership for democratic socialism. WIDICK said that the term "left wing" is not being used in discussing unity with the SP and only the word radical will be used in a very mild sort of a way. [redacted] laughed and said that the term is practically new in England and still being used so if he slips to excuse him.

[redacted] said that he had been invited to be the 3rd speaker in the regular forum conducted by the SP and the Dissent group. He said the first will be a UAW official from Flint, Michigan. The next will be WINEBERG, the UAW unionist, and then the speaker would be [redacted]. [redacted] said that around the UAW Headquarters they know that he is a socialist but they do not know he has the ISL viewpoint. [redacted] also mentioned that he has been picked to make a trip to Paris for a 10 day period but everything is not just set as yet and he is not absolutely sure that he will go.

B. J. WIDICK was burned up about the Dissent boys promising him that he would be one of the speakers in the present series and then ditching him for [redacted]. He called [redacted] a dirty s.o.b. for not keeping his word. [redacted] suggested that the Detroit ISL get cozy with some of the SP boys and arrange to get one of their out-of-town boys to come into Detroit for a debate on unity or any other subject and have MAX SHACTMAN speak for the ISL. [redacted] suggested that this be done as quicky as possible and not wait for MAX to make his regular tour and if the SP will not produce a speaker just invite some of the diehard boys and as many of those belonging to the so-called radical groups as can be reached.

B. J. WIDICK said that [redacted] made a suggestion that the local SP group write to the national office of the SP and get a charter to organize a branch in Detroit of all the combined socialist groups and see how it works on a local level.

[redacted] said that he would not even think of unity on a local level without national unity first. Everyone agreed that it was best to organize nationally first. b6 b7C

B. J. WIDICK said that he was going to have a talk with [redacted] and [redacted], who B. J. WIDICK considers as the Dissent Group, and see what progress he can make in any direction to get speakers lined up or at least get a crowd together for a big meeting, with MAX SHACTMAN as the principal speaker. WIDICK said that he was invited to attend a meeting of this same group on 2/18/57, and he would at least put out feelers to the group.

[redacted] orally advised SA [redacted] on 2/21/57, that [redacted] mentioned above is the same [redacted] LNU who has attended several ISL social affairs in the past.) b2 b6 b7C b7D

[redacted] asked if anybody had any more money for the fund drive so she could get it sent off before the drive got started and get Detroit's name as one of the first to send in money instead of waiting until last as we usually do and said she wanted a pledge from each one to see how much it would amount to. b6 b7C

B. J. WIDICK gave [redacted] $20.00 and said that his pledge would be $75, with $40 paid in. [redacted] said that if he gets the Paris trip he will give $100. [redacted] pledged $75. [redacted] pledged $60. [redacted] pledged $25. The [redacted]s said they did not know how much they could give. The [redacted] said they would give about $100. [redacted] said that she would like to go over the top by about $150 above the Detroit quota if possible. WIDICK said that he would get some money from friends outside of the ISL like [redacted], and others. [redacted] kidded him and said that

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he supposed that these people would come through like they did last year and he mentioned [redacted]'s $2.00, [redacted] nothing, and most of the others nothing. WIDICK said that the $20 he gave as anonymous last year was from [redacted].

[redacted] said that the neighborhood that he now lives in has a "changing neighborhood committee" and that they had their first meeting last week and they put out feelers on how the people felt about mixed neighbors, etc. [redacted] said they are proceeding very slowly and feeling every inch of their way. He said that "[redacted]" will attend the next meeting. ([redacted] orally advised SA [redacted] on 2/21/57, that [redacted] was [redacted]'s wife.)

The Informant also advised that [redacted]. The Informant further advised that B. J. WIDICK said that A. J. MUSTE was an invited guest at the CP Convention.

The Informant also furnished on 2/21/57, a copy of "Labor Action" dated 2/11/57. This literature is located in [redacted]. There were no articles of pertinent interest to the Detroit ISL Branch contained in this literature.

On 2/18/57, [redacted] personally furnished to SA [redacted] the "Memorandum on Our Perspective and Orientation in the Matter of Socialist Unity," mentioned above, as having been read by [redacted] at the ISL meeting of 2/17/57. Two autostat copies of this 4 page "Memorandum" were made and are located in [redacted]. The original of this "Memorandum" was returned to [redacted] on 2/21/57, at which time the Informant placed his code symbol number on the autostat copies to indicate that these copies were exact reproductions of the original "Memorandum." This memo sets forth the ISL position in the matter of socialist unity and indicates that the ISL is in favor of unity with the SP because it can become the framework of socialist unification.

Because of the length of this memo it is not being set out ver batim but it is being maintained in the Informant's file.

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O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M --- UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC (100-7121) DATE: 4/2/57

FROM : SA JOHN F. PHELAN, JR.

SUBJECT: INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE
IS - ISL

On 3/21/57, [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, personally provided a written report to SA JOHN F. PHELAN, JR. This report is maintained in [redacted], and is set out as follows:

4 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - 100-(ISL)
1 - 100-([redacted])
1 - 100-([redacted])
1 - 100-(SOCIALIST PARTY)
14-Philadelphia
1 - 100-7121
1 - 100-32106 ([redacted])
1 - 100-35564 ([redacted])
1 - 100-35512 ([redacted])
1 - 100-28217 (JOSEPH DAVIDSON)
1 - 100-31370 ([redacted])
1 - 100-42617 ([redacted])
1 - 100-38083 ([redacted])
1 - 100-42106 ([redacted])
1 - 100-32731 ([redacted])
1 - 100-31450 (Y.S.L.)
1 - 100-15348 (SOCIALIST PARTY)
1 - 100-42651 (ATTEMPTS OF CPUSA TO FORM A BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION)
1 - [redacted]

Indexed to this memo:
[redacted]

JFP:LRB
(18)

100-49738-122

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
APR 3 1957
FBI - NEW YORK

Searched Indexed
Serialized Filed
APRIL 2, 1957
FBI - PHILADELPHIA

"Special Meeting of the Phila I.S.L.

"Sunday March 10, 1957 the I.S.L. held a special Meeting. The meeting took place at the branch headquarters 703 Walnut St. The purpose of the meeting was to hear the oppinions of the majority and minority groups of the national Office on the Phila branch members holding dual membership in the I.S.L. and the S.P.

"Those present were [redacted], JOE DAVIDSON and [redacted] and [redacted]. b6 b7C

"The speakers representing the majority and minority groups were BEN HALL who spoke for the majority and GORDON HASKELL who spoke for the minority.

'[redacted] was chairman of the meeting. BEN HALL was the first speaker. He said that this is the opportune time for unity with the Socialist Party because of the large numbers of people breaking away from the C. P. All these people have no place to turn and a strong united Socialist movement will attrack them and other elements of the radical wave which will soon start to grow. His group proposes to unite with the S. P. on their terms even if it means to give up the right to express the ideas of the I.S.L.

"GORDON HASKELL agreed that unity with the S. P. is a need which the I.S.L. must have but the reasons HALL gives are false. Because the I.S.L. wanted unity before the C. P. members started to break away from their group. He said the I.S.L. is attempting to gain a need respectably which the S. P. has. His group says the I.S.L. should go into the S. P. but only if the S. P. clearly under stands that the I.S.L. does not intend to give up its policys or the right to publish its own papers and attempt to gain members with in the S.P. and outside. He claims this will be a stronger unity if the S. P. accepts because they (the S.P.) will not be able to claim the I.S.L. came

"in under false pretenses in a attempt to steal their members and break up the S. P.

"After last speaker was through the rest were allowed 10 minutes to question the speakers JOE DAVIDSON asked about the progress of the unity conferences. HALL said their was none so far.

"[redacted] and [redacted] opposed the idea of unity altogether because in their oppinion the S. P. was dead. b6 b7C

"[redacted] opposed both groups. He said he had a third position on unity which he explained. the meeting ended about 5:00 P.M."

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O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M --- UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC (100-31450) DATE: 4/2/57

FROM : SA JOHN F. PHELAN, JR.

SUBJECT: YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE
IS - ISL

On 3/21/57, [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, personally provided a written report to SA JOHN F. PHELAN, JR. This report is maintained in [redacted], and is set out as follows:

4 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - 100- (ISL)
1 - 100- (SP)
1 - 100- (YSL)
1 - 100- ([redacted]) - [redacted] probably
14- Philadelphia
1 - 100-31450
1 - 100-42659 ([redacted])
1 - 100-36836 ([redacted])
1 - 100-new (FNU. [redacted])
1 - 100-42672 ([redacted])
1 - 100-42617 ([redacted])
1 - 100-42700 ([redacted])
1 - 100-42730 ([redacted])
1 - 100-38083 ([redacted])
1 - 100-42616 ([redacted])
1 - 100-42106 ([redacted])
1 - 100-15348 (SP)
1 - 100-7121 (ISL)
1 - [redacted]

Indexed to this memo: [redacted]

JFP:LRB
(18)

Searched ____ Indexed ____
Serialized ____ Filed ____
APRIL 2, 1957
FBI - PHILADELPHIA

100-49738-123

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
APR 3 1957
FBI — NEW YORK

Rec'd by Phila 4/5/57

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PH 100-31450

"Young Socialist League Meeting

"Sunday March 17, 1957 The Y.S.L. held its bi-weekly social education. The topic of the night was 'What's Ahead for the Radical Youth in America.

"The speaker was [redacted] who came down from the New York office to talk.

"[redacted] was the chairman. The meeting took place in [redacted]'s appartment located at [redacted] Phila. Pa. Their were ten people present [redacted], and a new girl whose last name was [redacted]. She was short about five foot two inches tall. Weight was around 110 lbs. She had black hair and dark eyes.

"The speaker from New York [redacted] was about 6 ft tall and weight about 160 lbs. He had dark eyes and black hair. His hair was cut in a crew cut style. He wore glasses. He is supose to be a [redacted] in New York. His age is around [redacted] or [redacted]. The girl [redacted] is about [redacted] years old.

'[redacted] spoke of the proposed merger of the I.S.L. to the S.P. He said this would be bad because the S.P. is a dead party and joining them would'nt help either group to attract outside members. He also spoke of the need for a Labor Party as the only way to bring Socialism to America. He claims it can be done and the time is approaching because of recent world developments. He said it will happen if they (The Labor party) are not stopped by the capitalist.

"When [redacted] finished talking [redacted] asked him just what constitutes a youth in order to be a member of the youth movement. [redacted] said that the youth movement at least the Y.S.L. doesn't necessarily have to have young members as its leaders because it is primarly a educational group set up to teach young people the doctrines of Socialism. [redacted] also asked if they are after the formation of a labor party, why do they

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"seek out college students to educate when they should be out to educate the workers. [redacted] said that in order to start a new social system it is necessary to win over the intellectuals and that is why they seek out college students.

'[redacted] wanted to know how a labor party could be stopped if it was formed by election and was legal. [redacted] said that the Capitalist would resort to illegal methods namely hiring foreign troops and people who are out of work and don't belong to labor unions for example farmers and the like. The meeting ended about 10: PM"

* * *

Copies of this memo are furnished to New York for information.

It is requested that a dead jacket be made on (FNU) [redacted].

UFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-131197)(7-3) DATE: 4/3/57

FROM: SA [redacted] (#7-3)

SUBJECT: AMERICAN YOUTH FOR SOCIALISM
IS - SWP

Source: [redacted], possible PSI

Reliability: Who has furnished reliable information in the past.

Information Furnished: Open meeting of AYS, 2/26/57

Date Received: 3/4/57, oral
3/11/57, written

Received By: SA [redacted]

Location: [redacted]

1- Newark (100-)([redacted])(RM)(VIA F/S)
1- New York ([redacted])(P&C)(7-3)
1- New York (100-60264)([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (100-120240)([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (100-95240)(LYL)(12-8)
1- New York (100-80693)(YSL)(7-3)
1- New York (100-49738)(SP)(7-3)
1- New York (100-21059)(SDF)(7-3)
1- New York (100-98816)([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (100-4013)(SWP)(7-3)
1- New York (100-25903)(MAX SHACHTMAN)(7-3)
1- New York (100-130369)([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (100-114528)([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (100-122864)([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (100-114584)([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (100-97078)(SWP - NY LOCAL)(7-3)
1- New York (100-119643)([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (100-118453)([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (100-111313)([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (100-0[illegible])([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (100-129184)([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (105-)([redacted])(1)
1- New York (100-126223)([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (100-130702)([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (100-130558)([redacted])(7-3)

GPB:mel
(26)

100-49738-124

SEARCHED..... INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED..... FILED.....
APR - 3 1957
FBI, NEW YORK

[redacted] furnished, as set forth above, written notes and oral comments on 3/4/57 which were reduced to writing in the NYO and returned to [redacted] on 3/11/57 at which time he read and signed the typed report. A copy of the above described report follows:

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"I furnished the following information in the form of written notes and oral comments on 3/4/57.

"A regular meeting of the American Youth for Socialism (AYS) was held at SWP headquarters, 116 University Place, NYC, 2/26/57, beginning at 8:00 PM.

"Prior to the meeting, I noticed [redacted] was in the building.

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"The AYS meeting began with the selection of [redacted] as chairman. Two reports were made on the Brooklyn LYL and the YSL. Personal contacts were made with some members of the LYL. With regard to the YSL, a left wing is evolving which is said to comprise $\frac{1}{4}$ of the YSL membership at the present time. The main goal of the YSL left wing is to keep the organization in being and preventing it from being absorbed by the SP-SDF. The YSL left wing speaks highly of the SWP as "the only revolutionary party in the U. S.", according to [redacted], but the YSL left wing disagrees with the SWP on the Russian question.

"The SWP appears to be trying to give the left wing revolt a political flavor. In the report on the YSL meeting it was said that Max Shachtman have a harangue lasting $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours on the relationship of the SWP and the YSL-ISL, and the differences between the two.

"A series of debates will be organized on the Russian question between the SWP and the Shachtmanites in the future.

"The report on the LYL was made by [redacted], with assistance from the floor by [redacted], his female companion. The report on the YSL was made by [redacted].

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NY 100-131197

"After the reports, the floor was thrown open for a discussion on the future relations of the AYS and the YSL. The outcome was a decision to help the YSL left wing along to the point of an awareness of the direction of the YSL movement.

'[redacted] then gave a report on the AYS social held 2/23/57. She said $30.00 was cleared and the attendance was 70, half of them from outside the SWP. A wide program of social events is planned for the future, including movies, get-togethers, socials, etc. A party at the home of [redacted], [redacted], NYC, was planned for Saturday, 3/2/57. At this party I learned her full name is [redacted].

'[redacted] then gave a report on other activities planned for the AYS in the future. The subjects of future forums were announced. The subject for next week will be 'History of American Trotskyism.' Two classes are planned for the future. One will be on 'Basic Socialism' and the other on 'The Soviet Union and the Various Positions Thereon.' It was announced that there is a SWP class presently in progress, on the Russian Revolution. Although this class is a little advanced, it would be geared for the less advanced, if enough interest was shown.

"There will be something scheduled for Mountain Spring Camp on the July 4 weekend and during August; classes, no doubt.

"An educational report was given by [redacted] on the topic, 'Juvenile Delinquency.' She said that juvenile delinquency was caused by capitalism, which oppresses the youth and denies them any chance for self expression. It stultifies their normal development, and gangs are resorted to by these youth. According to [redacted], these gangs are never formed for criminal activity, but for social purposes. Weapons are carried for self-defense. The gang youth are from working class minority groups and in the gangs they find the status they can't find in capitalist society, [redacted] claims.

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NY 100-131197

Her concluding remarks were a summary of the Frank Santana case. [redacted] has referred to this case at previous AYS functions. He said that a pamphlet on the case would soon be put out by the SWP, and Wertham's book on Santana, 'Circle of Guilt' is on sale at SWP headquarters.

In the discussion after [redacted]'s educational, [redacted] referred to the advantages of middle and upper class youth in getting police favoritism. [redacted] got up and asked a revealing question: Socialism can't be expected to solve this problem immediately, because Socialism is the millenium, is far in the future. Why not do something constructive now, like organizing interracial groups to teach English to the Puerto Ricans. [redacted] answered [redacted] in the following manner: The AYS functions to fight for Socialism and for a better society for the youth to grow up in.

. "There were 19 people present at the AYS meeting held 2/26/57, among whom I noted the following: ([redacted] [redacted] sat in the rear of the hall, ostensibly reading a newspaper)

"[redacted]
"[redacted]"
"[redacted] (Spanish)
"[redacted], related to [redacted] .
"[redacted] and [redacted]
"[redacted]. Name unknown, who was noted at AYS meeting held 2/19/57
"[redacted], who told me that the FBI had called up his mother and scared her. He doesn't believe her.
"[redacted]
"[redacted], previously described
"[redacted]. He is out of the Party (SWP), has been dropped from the mailing list, and is having trouble with his mother
"[redacted]
"[redacted]
"[redacted] and [redacted] from L. A.
"[redacted]"

NY 100-131197

Identifications have been made as set forth in dissemination of instant memo wherever possible from description furnished by [redacted] or display of photograph to him. [redacted] advised on 3/18/57 that he learned the name of the individual described by him as "[redacted]" was [redacted].

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FD-36 (Rev- 3-13-56)

FBI

Date: 4/3/57

Transmit the following message via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

REGISTERED MAIL

To : Director, FBI (100-86590)

From: SAC, Philadelphia (100-7121)

INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE
IS - ISL
OO - New York

C I N A L

On 4/2/57, [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, orally advised SA JOHN F. PHELAN, Jr., that at meeting of ISL in Philadelphia on 4/2/57 ALEX WOLLOD, a leading member of the Philadelphia ISL, stated he had heard from a reliable source in the Socialist Party that NORMAN THOMAS, National Chairman of the Socialist Party, was planning to make proposal at coming National Committee meeting of the Socialist Party to merge with the ISL. According to the informant, WOLLOD said he had been talking to the leader of the minority group in the Socialist Party, a Mr. RICHARDSON. It was not known whether or not RICHARDSON was the source of the information re THOMAS' plans.

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6 - Bureau (RM) (1 - 100-86590)
(1 - 100-424101)(ATTEMPTS OF CPUSA TO FORM BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION)
(1 - SOCIALIST PARTY)
(1 - SOCIALIST DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION)
4 - New York (RM) (1 - 100-6680)
(1 - ATTEMPTS OF CPUSA TO FORM BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION)
(1 - SOCIALIST PARTY)
(1 - SOCIALIST DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION)
7 - Philadelphia (1 - 100-7121)
(1 - 100-32731)([redacted])
(1 - 100-42651)(ATTEMPTS OF CPUSA TO FORM BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION)
(1 - 100-15348)(SOCIALIST PARTY)
(1 - 105-84)(SOCIALIST DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION)
(1 - [redacted])
(1 - 100-42205 Sub A)(CINAL, Library)

JFP:JMB
(17)

100-19738-125

APR 4 1957

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

The members of the Philadelphia Branch of ISL discussed this matter and came to the agreement that MAX SCHACHTMAN, ISL leader, would certainly not be so insistent on merging with the Socialist Party, unless he and THOMAS had already talked the matter over and had probably agreed to such a merger. [redacted] is strongly of the opinion that SCHACHTMAN must have made agreement with THOMAS, in view of the information being given to local branches regarding the possibility of a merger. He explained that there are two distinct groups on the unity matter and SCHACHTMAN is backing the majority group, which advocates merger with the Socialist Party at any cost even to the extent of abandoning ISL publications. The ISL minority group, led by GORDON HASKELL and HAL DRAPER, are opposed to the merger under these provisions, and they desire to maintain their identity and continue publishing their publications. This group also desires merger with the Socialist Party but with certain reservations.

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The informant also advised that ISL Convention Discussion Bulletins, approximately 30 pages in length, were distributed to the members at the meeting on 4/2/57. It contains the opinion of the majority and minority groups in the ISL and the main points regarding the unity question with other socialist organizations. The bulletins were distributed by the National Political Committee of the ISL. Philadelphia plans to photostat these bulletins as soon as available, at which time the Bureau and New York will be furnished copies.

For the information of the Bureau and New York, the ISL in Philadelphia is attempting to set up a joint May Day affair with the Socialist Party-Socialist Democratic Federation. This is being set up in view of the possibility of the local branch joining the SP-SDF in the Philadelphia area. The National Political Committee of the ISL, according to [redacted] has not decided whether to consider having individual ISL branches join the Socialist Party on local levels rather than on a national scale. The Philadelphia Branch of ISL feels this would seriously retard a national merger.

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HENNRICH

REPORT TO THE LEFT WING CAUCUS

ON THE RECENT HASKELL-SHACHTMAN DEBATE

Thursday night, February 21, a split in the national leadership of the ISL came to light in the form of a debate on the unity question between Haskell and Shachtman. The nature of the split, as you will gather from this report, is basic and has all the characteristics of a factional struggle. On one side is Shachtman, Gates, Ben Hall, Martin, etc., and on the other is Haskell and Draper. Why Haskell was chosen to speak for the minority is not clear though I have a hunch it is because Haskell is to the right of Draper and that this particular minority document (I assume you will be getting copies of this through the ISL soon - if not, write me) is more his than Hal's. The atmosphere was one of considerable hostility; and Shachtman, especially in his summary, was as vicious and ruthless as I have ever seen him. It is obvious that he sees no possiblity of winning over Draper and Haskell and is out to ruthlessly isolate them from the rest of the movement.

Shachtman's Speech. Shachtman's speech was generally in line with everything that he has said on other occasions. He emphasized that while he was for inviting Stalinoids, et al into his "all-inclusive party" the anti-Stalinists must be in the majority at all costs. Also he characterized the SP in the same way as have the YSL right wingers: "no clear-cut program," etc. This, as you will see, is extremely important in the right wing's presentation. He of course considers this "lack of program" an advantage and the main reason (he says) why he is interested in the SP. He stated that you "cannot discuss program with the SP." He is completely opposed to any such attempt. He then threw in what turned out to be a little left demogogy: "Once we are in the SP the relationship of forces will be changed in five minutes" and there are no limits to what we can do. As you will later see he did not mean this as it sounds. Is the present SP-SDF platform acceptable as a basis for unity? Shachtman asked. His answer is an unqualified "yes." He is for unity with the SP-SDF as it is! The question of who else comes in will be decided once the ISL has entered. This means that in no way does Shachtman precondition his entry on any change in the attitude of the SP leadership towards the entry of his newly-won "friends," the Bartellites, Cochranites, et al.

He made his usual barbs against the SWP - "sectarian," etc. - stating that they were "never our really close friends to begin with." One wonders whether he means by this that the SP was his "close friend" all along. Also in this context he threw barbs against us (the YSL left wing) of an extremely hostile nature. He noted that Bartell and the others of this type would like to get in the SP but do not consider it possible. (They want the ISL to run the gauntlet for it, as one of the ISL minority put it.) He said that Bartell had a better political understanding "than some of our own members," meaning Haskell and Draper. He stated that the present line of the ISL has achieved more for the organization in a few months than the organization has accomplished in a few years. He claims to have excellent relationships with the SP left wing, some SP right-wingers, some SDFers, left and right in the Bund. (He seems to have excellent relationships with everybody but his own organization - TW.) He

[redacted] b2 b7D

emphasized, in conclusion, that he was taking a "concrete position" and that the minority did not really want unity.

Haskell's Speech. Gordon started out by attacking Shachtman's definition of the SP-SDF. He said the concept of the "looseness" was a distortion. It has a firm position, he said, -- one of "critical" support of American imperialism. He noted that today the Stalinoids are in motion and this is where we should focus our attention. The SP is little interested in this, he feels. They "are sectarian." They are interested only in "fusion to the right." However, Gordon is also for an all-inclusive party and feels that the SP is an indispensable element of such a party. In fact it will also be the "dominant element in the new party." However, the problem of today and the near future is not how to function in a mass all-inclusive party but the "coexistence of two propaganda groups." We must be realistic and realize that in the present period only "tens will join," he stated. Therefore there must be some sort of agreement to make such a coexistence possible. He suggested two points that must be agreed on: (1) each must respect the other as a legitimate socialist tendency and (2) we must together formulate a broad program in which there will be nothing that is "in flagrant contradiction with our views."

He emphasized over and over that he only insisted on removing things that are in flagrant contradiction with our views and that he was not for replacing them with our views but with generalities. He was afraid that once in the SP-SDF we would have to push the right wing's program to the Stalinoids and he felt that these elements were not ready to accept American imperialism. Also he felt that once in the SP-SDF we could not longer play a role in the whole regroupment business as the SP-SDF was opposed even to talking with Stalinoids. But if the SP-SDF adopted this general program we could push our own politics without being disloyal, he felt. Otherwise it would be disloyal to join the SP and push in public and in private politics contrary to those of the SP-SDF. He spoke of Shachtman's program as dissolution of the ISL and entry into the SP-SDF while he wanted a healthy unity.

Discussion. The floor discussion was interesting. YSLers like Bogdan, Joan and Owen supported Gordon, as well as Joe (ex-Bartellite) and other ISL members. The hacks like Gates, Sonny, etc., supported Shachtman. It was obvious that Shachtman had the majority. Owen asked Gordon whether he felt Labor Action's criticism of the SP had been adequate. The chairman of the meeting then asked whether he wanted Shachtman to answer this question, at which point Hal stated with plenty of emotion that he wanted Max to answer it. Thus LA's editor is getting disturbed about the harness which is holding him in. Hal then spoke making only one major point: Shachtman is not for unity. Let's call a spade a spade. "Shachtman is for dissolution and entry into the SP." This is not like 1936 (he thought this was good, that it was not like 1936 - TW). Shachtman's role once in the SP-SDF would be to "guard against a leftward development." This is because if the SP-SDF moves to the left it will lose the role Shachtman assigns it as an "attraction to the right." This, he again stated, is "not unity."

[redacted]

3-15-57

C.H.

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Haskell's Summary. In his summary Gordon stated that Shachtman was risking everything, including the entire movement, on a "political gamble." He emphasized that Shachtman had no program for the ISL if it could not get in (Shachtman never answered him on this crucial question). He mentioned the demoralizing effect on the ranks of this approach. He said that Max would not do anything with his program once in the SP-SDF. The ISL would act as the "policeman of the left wing." Gordon wants to push our program whether in the SP-SDF or outside it. He stated quite frankly that the L. coverage of the SP had not been adequate. He felt that one must remain critical of the SP and attack its politics "though in a friendly way" even if one wants unity. As far as the programmatic basis for unity was concerned, he would not accept unity on the basis that Saragat proposed it to Nenni, that is, on the basis of support of NATO.

Shachtman's Summary. Shachtman prefaced his conclusion with the remark that he opposed a faction fight. He thought it was a bad idea to have one, etc., but... In answer to a question from the floor on why the PC had waited so long to bring the differences out into the open he stated that if the branches had started discussion two months ago, the discussion we would be having tonight would "make your hair stand on end." He mentioned that Draper and Haskell had previously been for unity on the basis of a modified third camp program and that tonight's proposal was new. He also stated that the split on the PC had been between those who thought unity was possible (Shachtman et al) and those who thought it was impossible (Draper and Haskell).

He made some nasty cracks against "some erring friends of ours", namely us. He launched a vicious attack against Haskell and Draper, calling them sectarians, etc. They were really opposed to unity but did not want to admit it, he stated. You can only have unity on my basis, he said, and even that will be difficult. You can hardly talk to the SP at all, not to mention discuss politics, he claimed. He subjected Draper and Haskell to the most thorough ridicule I have heard in a long time. He made no attempt to win them over, though they had obviously come closer to him with their current statement. But, as I remarked earlier, he was hell bent on isolating them from the movement. As far as the charge that the ISL will not push its third camp program once in the SP-SDF, it is "absolutely true", he stated. He took back what he had said earlier about taking over the SP-SDF in five minutes. No maneuver or capture is being considered. The possibilities are great, as he conceives of a party of 2,000 in a very short while. Everybody loves him and all want in. McAvoy, after one of Max's spellbinding talks (Remember the McReynolds one? TW) went down to the SP and applied for membership. The SP rejected him. Anyone who wishes to discuss program is a sectarian, an Oehlerite, and does not want unity, he claimed.

As far as dissolution and entry are concerned, he made it clear that he was for this, but of course he wanted the SP to issue a statement upon the ISL's entry that "the ISL and the SP had joined to form the SP." I doubt if this face-saving statement is playing a very crucial role in the negotiations.

Received From [redacted] b2 b7D
3-15-57
EJH

Conclusion. All signs point to a basic factional struggle unless - as is possible but not likely - Draper and Haskell cave in. It is noteworthy that they waited two months or more before they brought it to the membership. They share Shachtman's fear of the membership and of us. I feel, in fact, that it was our offensive and bulletin which brought the whole business into the open. They talked of many discussions to come so it seems that they are prepared for a thorough factional battle. As you can tell from the above description, Draper and Haskell's position has as its kernel the desire to continue the struggle. It must be remembered that these comrades are the real activists in the ISL and together run the whole national organization. They wish to continue the struggle and in that may still remain revolutionary elements as compared to Shachtman and Co.

However, their position is untenable. Let's face it: entrance into the SP-SDF can be gained in only one way, Shachtman's way. If you recoil, as does most of the membership of the ISL and YSL, you must in reality oppose such a perfidious unity. However, the risk of Shachtman's politics is that if he does not get into the SP-SDF soon he will have no organization left. He has no - I repeat, no program for the continuation of the movement beyond the next few months. He is gambling with our whole movement in order to get into the stinking corpse of the social democracy - to get his beloved "opening to the right."

This makes it ever more apparent that we in the left wing must step up our campaign designed at building the YSL and fighting the liquidators of our movement. The strength of the left is directly proportional to the future strength of the YSL. It is we who must build and expand the YSL on a revolutionary basis and who must oppose the flight from our movement being planned by Shachtman and his agents in the YSL.

-- submitted by [redacted] b6 b7C
February 22, 1957

Received From [redacted] b2 b7D
3-15-57
25

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-131197) (7-3) DATE: 4/3/57

FROM: SA [redacted] (#7-3)

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SUBJECT: AMERICAN YOUTH FOR SOCIALISM
IS - SWP

Source: [redacted], possible PSI

Reliability: Who has furnished reliable information in the past.

Information Furnished: Open meeting of AYS 3/5/57.

Date Received: 3/11/57

Received By: SA [redacted]

Location: [redacted]

1- New York ([redacted])(P&C)(7-3)
1- New York (100-80693)(YSL)(7-3)
1- New York (100-6680)(ISL)(7-3)
1- New York (100-49738)(SP)(7-3)
1- New York (100-21059)(SDF)(7-3)
1- New York (100-25903)(MAX SHACHTMAN)(7-3)
1- New York (100-128317)([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (100-new)([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (100-4013)(SWP)(7-3)
1- New York (100-130558)([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (100-114584)([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (100-111313)([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (100- 0)([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (100-121938)([redacted] LNU, white, male, early 20's, 6', thin build)(7-3)
1- New York (100-114528)([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (100-130369)([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (105-)([redacted])(1)
1- New York (100-[redacted]8816)([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (100-126223)([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (100-116594)([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (100-119643)([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (100-130702)([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (100-118453)([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (100-126922)([redacted])(7-3)
1- New York (100-111294)([redacted])(7-3)

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100-49738-127

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APR - 3 1957
FBI - NEW YORK

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furnished, as set forth above, a written report covering a meeting of the American Youth for Socialism held Tuesday 3/5/57 at SWP Headquarters, 116 University Place, NYC. The informant's report reflects the following:

The two most important portions of the meeting were a report given on the YSL by ( ) and the educational which was given by . In discussing the YSL stated that the SWP and the YSL were arranging a debate on the Russian question. He said that the growth of the left wing inside the YSL was continuing. said that at a class held 3/3/57 on the topic "Social Democracy" at YSL Headquarters, 114 West 14th Street, NYC, a fight broke out on the proposed union between the ISL - YSL SP - SDF. This class was devoted to an explanation of the moves of the YSL leadership which is supposed to have come out into the open with its real reasons. believes the reason is that MAX SHACHTMAN and the SP - SDF are in essential agreement on policy. Applicable to this (believed to be) and ( ) from the YSL came into the AYS meeting before the educational. It appeared to that was a left winger and a right winger.

The educational, given by ,was a review of the book "The History of American Trotskyism" by JAMES P. CANNON. In 's opinion history has a purpose for the working class and the capitalist class. It is a teacher for the working class since there are valuable lessons to learn from the struggles of the past. CANNON's book relates the history of the SWP up to 1939 and thought that much could be learned from this history.

In the discussion period which followed the educational, from the YSL, indicated that he favored a "Debsian" Socialist Party which would contain all Socialist tendencies and would be completely democratic, with each tendency having the right to win individual members to their opinion and to publish their own papers. The other YSL member, , opposed this, since he favors a strong unified revolutionary tendency and the opposing

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ideas which could be made public would confuse and alienate the workers. The SWP and AYS people appeared to be concerned about discussions of compromise which [redacted] discussed, since they feel that past relations between revolutionary and reformist groups have been bad. They fear that Marxism would be rejected and that divergent groups would soon become disloyal to revolutionary Socialism. [redacted] in his remarks also seemed concerned over the foreign element in the concepts of Marxism. He thinks that Socialism has been dominated by the Russian Revolution and foreign events. He feels more attention should be devoted to American problems. [redacted] commented in regard to the discussions following the AYS educational that they revealed the undemocratic nature of the Party. [redacted] wrote that the individuals present appeared not to believe in either compromise or democracy. They believed in imposing their ideology upon the people and then using the deceived masses to take over this country. The individual known to [redacted] by the first name only of [redacted] made a reference to the overthrow of Capitalism which [redacted] took to mean the overthrow of democracy and private property.

[redacted]'s report further reflects that the educational ended with a summation by [redacted] who merely stated that the discussion had elicited several points dealt with in CANNON's book.

The educational for the following week was announced as on Trotsky's "In Defense of Marxism."

[redacted] named the following individuals as present at the AYS meeting, in some cases with comments regarding the person. Where the last name of the individual is unknown to [redacted] identification has been made through display of photograph to [redacted] or description furnished by him:

[redacted]

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NY 100-131197

[redacted] (LNU) who acted as temporary chairman.
[redacted] who has been under the care of a [redacted] according to information received by [redacted] from [redacted].

[redacted] who is being treated by [redacted].

[redacted] who sat at the rear of the hall.

[redacted] who sat in the rear of the hall.

[redacted] (identification of this individual is based on the description furnished by [redacted] in his written report as follows: White, male, 6', 150 lbs., thin build, [redacted], light brown hair, YSL member).

OFFICE MEMORANDUM — **UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT**

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-16)

Date: March 21, 1957

FROM: SAC, DETROIT (100-1334)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
IS - SWP

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cc:
4 - Bureau (100-16 - SWP) (Enc.9) (REG.)
100-86590 (ISL)
100- (YSL)
6 - Chicago (65-645 - SWP) (Enc.1) (REG.)
100- (ISL)
100- (YSL)
100- ([redacted] LNU)
100- ([redacted])
100- ([redacted])
5 - Cincinnati (100- SWP) (Enc.1) (REG.)
100- (ISL)
100- (YSL)
100- ([redacted])
100- ([redacted])
8 - Los Angeles (100-17375 - SWP) (Enc.9) (REG.)
100- (ISL)
100- (YSL)
100-23847 ([redacted])
100- ([redacted] LNU)
100- ([redacted] LNU)
100- ([redacted], LA LEADER OF YSL)
100- ([redacted] LNU)
(22) - New York (100-4013 - SWP) (~~Enc. 9) (REG~~)
↑ Filed in 100-4013-1A 1952
100-6680 (ISL)
100- (YSL)
100- ([redacted])
100- ([redacted])
100- (FARRELL DOBBS)
100- ([redacted] LNU)
100- (AL, ALBERT GATES)
100- (MAX SHACHTMAN)

Detroit requested to furnish additional copies for pertinent files.

New York (cont'd)
100- (MAX MARTIN)
100- ([redacted])
100- ([redacted])
100- ([redacted])
100- (LYL)
100- (LIBERAL PARTY)
100- ([redacted])
100- ([redacted])
100- ([redacted])
100- ([redacted])
100- ([redacted])
100- ([redacted])
100- ([redacted]) Newark OO

8 - San Francisco (61-380 -SWP) (Enc.1) (REG.)
100- (ISL)
100- (YSL)
100- ([redacted] LNU)
100- ([redacted])
100- ([redacted])
100- ([redacted])
100- ([redacted])

7 - Detroit (100-1334)
100-22976 (YSL)
100-9025 (ISL)
100-23622 ([redacted])
[redacted]

Photo Lab prepare 6 Photostats
CGS NAK (60)
100-126432 (YSL-NY)
100-131197 (AYS)
100-7629 (Cominfil, NAACP)
100-49738 (SP)
100-121808 ([redacted])
100-110186 [redacted]

OK JPC 7-3

100-4013-8443

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SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
MAR 22 1957
FBI — NEW YORK
[redacted] BPB

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Enclosed herewith for the information of the Bureau and interested offices are copies of a group of papers furnished to SA [redacted] on 3/15/57 by [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past. This group of papers was sent to [redacted] of the Detroit Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) from [redacted] of the SWP National Office. These papers were in the legal possession of the Informant for a short time only and had to be returned to the Informant.

This material consisted of a letter to [redacted] from [redacted], which was an original type written copy and was signed "[redacted]", several other carbon copies of correspondence, which contained no signatures, and a mimeographed copy of the "Left Wing Bulletin", 3/57 issue volume 1, number 1, published by the "left wing" caucus of the Young Socialist League (YSL).

Photographic copies were made in the DE Office of all material except the "Left Wing Bulletin", of which one autostatic copy was made. Negatives of this photographed material are located in DE file [redacted]. The autostatic copy of the "Left Wing Bulletin" is located in [redacted].

This material, including the "Left Wing Bulletin" was all sent as an enclosure to the letter to [redacted] from [redacted]. This material is for the most part self-explanatory, outlining the recent developments in the Independent Socialist League (ISL) and the YSL and also stating the plans of the SWP as a result of these developments. The SWP plans in brief were stated by [redacted] in his letter to [redacted], "It is not a question of the SWP youth, or any youth group we influence, making immediate application for admission into the YSL; but we are proposing a policy of fusion with the left wing...."

Copies of the "Left Wing Bulletin" are not being forwarded to other offices because it is believed other offices

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concerned will have access to the bulletin, however copies will be furnished upon request.

The table of contents of the bulletin reads as follows:

"Left-Wingers form National Caucus.... page 2 - 4.

Portrait of the Centerist as a Young Shachtmanite - [redacted] .....page 1.

Resolution: On the SP.....page 5.

Resolution: On the Unity Question.....page 6.

The Unity Question: An Analysis by [redacted].....page 9.

Motion on the Recent Political Group of the YPL.....page 10.

Let's win over the SP"Left Wing", [redacted].....page 12.

Editorial: Electrol Referendum.....page 14.

Unite for Unity,by [redacted].....page 16.

Lessons of the recent NEC Meeting - by [redacted].....page 29."

An Editorial statement on page 2 of the "Left Wing Bulletin" stated, "Publication of this bulletin officially launches the formation of the Left Wing Caucus of the YSL. This caucus is composed of all those in the YSL who oppose the proposed unity with the SP — SDF, and who believe that this proposal calls into question the continued existence of the YSL as an independent organization of revolutionary Socialist Youth".

Page 4 of the "Left Wing Bulletin" lists the 13 initiators of the "left wing" caucus of the YSL as follows:

[redacted], New York, NAC, NEC.

[redacted], Dayton area, NEC.

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[redacted], Minority Representative on New York Exec., Columbia Fraction.

[redacted], Columbia Fraction.

[redacted], New York.

[redacted], New York.

[redacted], NEC Alternate, Chicago.

[redacted], Chicago.

[redacted], Former NEC Member, Berkeley.

[redacted], Berkeley.

[redacted], Berkeley.

[redacted], Berkeley.

[redacted], Dayton Area.

Where identities of individuals are unknown to DE and where pertinent, the New York Office will disseminate pertinent data to their files in instances where further identity can be made.

ENCLOSURES: For the Bureau, Los Angeles, and New York, photographic copies of:

1. Envelope addressed to [redacted], Detroit, post marked, NY 3/7/57, from [redacted].

2. Letter to "[redacted]" at Detroit from [redacted] ([redacted]) on 3/15/57 advised SA [redacted] that "[redacted]" was [redacted].

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3. Letter dated 2/12/57 to "[redacted]" at New York from "[redacted]".
Also an excerpt from a letter dated 2/13/56 from "[redacted]" to "FARRELL" ([redacted] advised on 3/15/57 that these letters were between [redacted], [redacted] and FARRELL DOBBS)

4. Letter dated 2/18/57 at New York from "[redacted]" to "[redacted]" at Los Angeles (apparently items B, D, E, F and G, mentioned in this letter were not sent to the Detroit Branch of the SWP)

5. Letter dated 2/19/57 to "[redacted]" from [redacted].

6. [redacted]'s letters from Los Angeles to YSL National Office dated 11/14 and 12/9/56.

7. Motion on Socialist Unity, HASKELL - DRAPER Motion (The negative of page 1 was not legible and only pages 2 and 3 are enclosed)

8. Letter dated 2/5/57 at Los Angeles from "[redacted]" to "AL" (ALBERT GATES).

9. "Report To The Left Wing Caucus on The Recent HASKELL - SHACHTMAN Debate" submitted by [redacted] 2/22/57.

ENCLOSURES: To Cincinnati, Chicago and San Francisco:

1. Letter dated 2/18/57 to "[redacted]" from [redacted].

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O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M --- UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC (100-7121) DATE: 4/4/57

FROM : SA JOHN F. PHELAN, JR.

SUBJECT: INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE
IS - ISL

On 3/20/57, [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, personally provided a written report to SA JOHN F. PHELAN, JR. This report is maintained in [redacted] and is set out as follows:

5 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - 100- ([redacted])
1 - 100- ([redacted])
1 - 100- (ISL)
1 - 100- (SOCIALIST PARTY)
1 - 100- (SOCIALIST DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION)
15- Philadelphia
1 - 100-7121
1 - 100-32106 ([redacted])
1 - 100-35564 ([redacted])
1 - 100-28217 (JOSEPH DAVIDSON)
1 - 100-35512 ([redacted])
1 - 100-42617 ([redacted])
1 - 100-31370 ([redacted])
1 - 100-38083 ([redacted])
1 - 100-42106 ([redacted])
1 - 100-32731 ([redacted])
1 - 100-15348 (SOCIALIST PARTY)
1 - 100-31450 (YSL)
1 - 100-2036 (SWP)
1 - 100-41694 (THIRD CAMP)
1 - [redacted]

JFP:LRB
(20)

100-49738-128
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
APR 5 1957
FBI — NEW YORK

Indexed to this memo:
[redacted]
SOCIALIST DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION

Searched Indexed
Serialized Filed
APRIL 4, 1957
FBI - PHILADELPHIA

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PH 100-7121

"Special Meeting of the Phila. Branch I.S.L.

"Sunday March 10 1957 a special meeting of the Phila. Branch of the I.S.L. was held at the branches headquarters 703 Walnut St.

"The purpose of the meeting was to hear the opinion of the majority and minority members on the subject of the Phila. branch members holding dual membership in the Phila. branch of the Socialist Party.

"Those present at the meeting were [redacted], JOE and [redacted] DAVIDSON, [redacted].

"The speakers were BEN HALL, representing the majority and GORDON HASKELL representing the minority. [redacted] was chairman.

'[redacted] opened the meeting and explained the purpose of the meeting to be a discussion on the letter dealing with dual membership in the Socialist Party.

'[redacted] raised the point that any decision on the question of dual membership in the S. P. was related to the entire question of unity with the S. P. on a National basis and as the Political Com. of the I.S.L. was split on this issue, both the majority and the minority having issued preconvention bulletins on the subject, he felt that the branch should take up the question on national unity first.

"BEN HALL said that this was agreeable with him and so did GORDON HASKELL. [redacted] then put the matter to a vote. He asked [redacted] and [redacted] to refrain from voting on this question on the basis that as they were not members of the ISL, they had no voice or vote on the question. The vote on [redacted]s question was 6 for 1 against. [redacted] voting against.

"It was agreed that both speakers could have 30 min. to present their arguments. Then each member could have 10 min. to ask questions or discuss their opinions on

"the Unity question. The two speakers then were allowed 10 min. to rebut or sum up their positions.

"[redacted] requested special permission for himself and [redacted] to comment on the Unity question, this was granted by [redacted]. b6 b7C

"BEN HALL started his argument by pointing out that the Socialist movement was in the midst of a historical crisis, the breaking up of the Communist Party in the U. S.

"He said that large masses of disillisouned CP members and sympathizers would be looking for a new party to turn to. It must be a party whose roots were deep in the Socialist movement in in the Organized Labor Movement.

"HALL pointed out that there is an unique situation in the U. S. here we have an organized labor movement and an immense upheavel in the Negro element which has come about without any help nor direction from the Radical Socialist Movement.

"Even the Socialist Party has touched rock bottom since the last radical wave swept this country.

"Here, said he, is the greatest opportunity of all time for the I.S.L. to step into the breach and present to the American radicals a place to turn to giving them a base in the Socialist movement which has a good name in the Labor movement and in the minds of the American people.

"To do this we must unite our strength with that of the S. P., which while it still favors American Capitalist and Western Democracies, and has been steadily losing ground since the advent of the Roosevelt-Truman era we know that basically the Socialist know the weakness of the capitalist system and can be relied upon, in the long run, to rally support against it.

"Now unity with the S. P. is no easy thing to acchieve, primarily because the Socialist have stated that they

"will never unite with Stalinist_, Leninist_ or Trotskyites. Why even now if you attempt to discuss politics with any of the members of the S. P. they flee in horrow.

"But because of the objective situation we must acchieve unity at all cost. We are proposing to submerge our own ideas, propaganda and publications, such as Anvil and Labor Action and accept the disciplin_of the S. P.

"We feel that if we do this and the S. P. accepts us as members we can then develope the revitalized S. P. as a rallying point to attract all those people like GATES and his followers, who are ready to break with the C.P. but they have no place to go.

"Now this is one of the reasons why the majority feels that the proposition or invitation of the leading comrades of the S. P. to the Phila. I. S. L. members join them as dual members, is a good thing.

"This would establish a preceedent so that SCHACTMANN would be in a position to bargin with the S. P. on a national unity basis. Timewas called on BEN HALL.

"GORDON HASKELL then presented the minoritys position. He stated that the minority too desired unity with the S. P. but not so badly as the majority.

"The majority says that the big reason for unity is the present historical crisis in the C.P.

"This is not true, neither is it the real reason, said HASKELL. The real reason is a search for respectability by some of the leading comrades in the I.S.L.

"In their frantic search for respectability they are even willing to abondon their principles and policies, their Third Camp Line and subject themselves to oblivian in the S. P.

"There was no historical crisis last year, there was no Hungarian Revolution nor Polish Revolt then. But the need for respectability was there even then.

"And the majorities claim that the S. P. is deeply rooted in the Socialist tradition and in the American Labor Movement is not true. We all know that the S. P. S. D. F. is dead. Has been dead politically for the last two generations.

"It is a reactionary Socialist organization trying hard to be the left wing of the Democratic party.

"Its strength and roots in the American Labor movement have been non-existant for the past 25 years.

"The Socialist Party - Social Democratic Federation in nothing but a small sect of about 500 members, not much bigger that the I.S.L. with its 200 to 300 members.

"We believe unity with such a groupe is meaningless unless we and they understand exactly where we are going and for what we stand.

"I have not heard any leading comrade say, that unless we achieve unity with the S. P. we might as well disolve the I.S.L. Not yet! that is. But is not this the next logical step? What are they proposing? To surrender their Ideas, their Political Phisolophy their party publications even their voice, just to acchieve unity with a dying, right wing, backward socialist organization.

"They talk of a regroupement of Socialist forces into the greatest American Socialist movement. But where does the S. P. S. D. F. stand on this question? Ill tell you where they stand! They have not even considered such a regroupement.

"The minority is in favor of unity with the S. P. S. D. F. on realestic basis. No on the basis that by joining our numbers with theirs we willbelong to a larger party. Nor on the basis that we might acquire new members by stealing theirs, this is not unity.

"We propose to present our views to the S. P. S. D. F. on unity as an organization of equal stature. With equal

"rights to hold and present our political point of view wether it conflicts with theirs or not.

"We would insist on the right to criticize their political line and the right to publish our own papers.

"We would insist on the right to try to attract adherents to our position both within the united party and out side the party.

"We would insist on all this before joining the S. P. S. D. F. so that after unity when we carried out or line or critisized them they could not call us disloyal or feel that we were trying to steal their party from them.

"On the subject of dual membership with the S. P. on a local basis, we are opposed to any action on the part of a local branch. This peice meal or installment plan method of Unity is not practical and could only lead to confusion on the whole unity question on a national scale.

"Time was called on HASKELL at this point.

"JOE DAVIDSON devoted his ten min. to asking questions on the progrsss of the unity conferences. HALL said so far, there was no progress.

"[redacted] asked for a clearifcation on the invitation. She said it was her understanding that the S. P. had not extended such an invitation, but had merely mentioned the posibility that [redacted] and JOE could hold dual membership in the I. S. L. and the S. P. b6 b7C

"[redacted] explained that in talking with [redacted] [redacted] the Local S. P. secretary, he had discussed a dual membership and [redacted] agreed that it was a good idea.

"DAVIDSON intrupted to explain that he had broached the idea to [redacted] pointing out the he was a member of the I.S.L. which was not an political party, but an educational groupe, therefore he felt that

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"this should be no bar to membership in the S. P. [redacted] said he could see no objection to such membership.

"[redacted] used his ten min. discussing this local aspect.

"[redacted] waived her 10 min.

"[redacted] and [redacted] opposed the whole idea of Unity with the S. P. on the grounds that the youth considered the S. P. so dead.

"[redacted] pointed out that at the present time he and [redacted] were having a hard time keeping the S. W. P. from stealing the members of their college groupes away from them. And all the S.WP. needed was for the I. S. L. to Unite with the S. P. S. D. F.

"[redacted] had the last ten min. He opened up by pointing out that he was opposed to both the majority and minority position.

"He stated that he had a third position on Unity, The 3rd Camp and the pacifist. He developed his point on Unity for the next 10 min.

"HALL then answered as best he could both HASKELLs and [redacted]s position. Then HASKELL, accepting [redacted]s position as a more practical approach to the Unity question continued to attact HALLs position_

"Meeting adjurned 5.00 PM."

Cal 4/17/57

O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M --- UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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TO : SAC (100-7121) DATE: 4/4/57

FROM : SA JOHN F. PHELAN, JR.

SUBJECT: INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE
IS - ISL

On 3/20/57, [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, personally provided a written report to SA JOHN F. PHELAN, JR. This report is maintained in [redacted], and is set forth as follows:

100-49738-129

SEARCHED 10 INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
APR 9 1957
FBI — NEW YORK

8- New York (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - SWP (100-
1 - ISL (100-
1 - SP (100-
1 - ATTEMPTS OF CPUSA TO FORM A BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION (100-
1 - SDF (100-
1 - FOR (100-
1 - YSL (100-
1 - [redacted] (100-

25- Philadelphia
1 - 100-7121
1 - 100-32106 ([redacted])
1 - 100-35564 ([redacted])
1 - 100-33089 ([redacted])
1 - 100-35512 ([redacted])
1 - 100-28217 (JOSEPH DAVIDSON)
1 - 100-2427 ([redacted])
1 - 100-42339 ([redacted])
1 - 100-31370 ([redacted])
1 - 100-38083 ([redacted])
1 - 100-42106 ([redacted])
1 - 100-38020 (JOSEPH ROBERTS)
1 - 25-3424 ([redacted])
1 - 100-42297 ([redacted])
1 - 100-32731 ([redacted])
1 - 100-36296 ([redacted])
1 - 100-2036 (SWP)
1 - 100-40 (FOR)
1 - 105-2866 (LIBERATION)
1 - 100-42651 (ATTEMPTS OF CP USA TO FORM A BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION)
1 - 100-4899 (AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE)
1 - 100-41694 (THIRD CAMP)
1 - 100-31450 (YSL)
1 - 100-15348 (SP)
1 - [redacted]

Indexed to this memo:
[redacted]

Searched ____ Indexed ____
Serialized ____ Filed ____
APRIL 4, 1957
FBI - PHILADELPHIA
JCB

JFP:LRB
(33)
HRH

"Phila. Symposium

"March 15 1957 New Century Club 124 S. 12 St. Phila. Pa. sponsered by a committee of the particpants. Independent Socialist League, Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party, Eastern Penna, Fellowship of Reconciliation and Liberation Magazine, American Friends Service Committee and the Socialist Party - Socialist Democratic Federation.

"Chairman LYLE TATUM - A.F.S.C.
Ground Rules as outlined by the chairman.
Each speaker allowed 15 min. to make his presentation. Followed by a 10 min. question period. Concluding with each speaker permitted 7 min. for rebuttal.

"Any speaker exceeding his 15 min. would be permitted to take additional time which would be deducted from his 7 min. rebuttal but in no case could a speaker have more than 22 min. over all time.

"The subject, 'Whats ahead for the American Left.' The speakers appeared in the following order - A. Mr. DEVINE, S. P. - S. D. F. JOSEPH ROBERTS - C.P. JOSEPH DAVIDSON I.S.L., CHAS. WALKER F.O.R. and Liberation Mag. and THOMAS CAREY - S.W.P.

"DEVINE, on behalf of the S.P. - S.D.F. hailed this Foreum and its aims, a discussion of the possible regroupement of all Socialist tendencies into one Socialist Party in the U. S.

"He pointed out that the entire Socialist or Left element in the U. S. was a mere corprals guard in comparison to the population of the U. S. and the big job of the Socialist was not to unite the various groupes so much as to search out and educate the people who do not know that they are left.

"He stated that the aims of Socialism were to educate the Masses to the realization that the economy of production for pofit must be changed for their own welfare to a system of production to fill the needs of the people. He pointed out that this Production

"for Profit was the basic cause of War and World tribulation.

"He welcomed this opportunity to meet with such a large audience of Socialist minded people and exchange ideas with the leaders of the various sects within the Church of Socialism.

"He lauded the struggle of the Negro People and deplored the chipping away by Capitalist controlled government agencies of the Civil Liberties of the American People.

"He stated that the S. P. - S.D.F. stood ready at all times to work with and accept as members into their groupe all socialist democratic peope, pointing out that there were all shades of opinions at the present time in the S. P. - S. D. F.

"The next speaker was JOSEPH ROBERTS of the C. P. ROBERTS congratulated CARL DOBERMAN and CHAS. WALKER on the success of their efforts in organizing the symposium.

"He hailed this symposium as a step in the right direction pointing out that the division in the ranks of the American Socialist movement was a contributing factor to the rise of McCarthism in the U. S.

"He stated that the rising tide of the Negro Peoples struggle for equality needed the complete support of all Socialist minded people and parties. He went on to deplore the fact that the Labor movement was in the hands of the Democratic Party.

"He sited Penna. and Phila. as an example of this fact.

"He called for joint action to acchieve world peace. He described the plight of the workers and small busimen carrying the burden of the Tax load.

"He said there were many areas in which the various socialist groupes could cooperate without sacrificing

"their political entegrity. He called for the discussion in the future of a minimum program which all the groupes could function under. He stated that the C. P. in the U. S. believed that Socialism was a science and a science cannot accept old precepts and maxims at face value, but must continue to study new facates as they applied to the Socialist way of life in the U. S.

"He concluded by saying that he was pleased to see these groupes upon the same platform, trying to work out a method where by a real Socialist Party could evolve.

"The next speaker was JOSEPH DAVIDSON of the I.S.L. DAVIDSON pointed out that this symposium was the greatest advance made by the American Left since World War II.

"He asked if anyone could ever remember a time when, in the past, Stalinist, Leninist, Marxist and Trotskyites could appear on the same platform in friendly discussion.

"He stated that this was indicitive of the crisis facing the American Left today. And he voiced the opinion that three things were responsible for this crisis.

"First here we have the greatest mass organized labor movement in the world, which grew and prospered without aid or leadership from the Left.

"The greatest upward surge of the Negro People in their struggle for equality without the Left even parcipating in it. And last the unprecedented prosperity of the American Workers.

"In no other country in the world has this happened, and in every country the worker is a class concious individual who embraces some form of Socialist Political action.

"He said that he had no idea to account for these three things except the American workers averision to

"Democratic Centeralism and the fact that Stalinist Communism, with its mass murder of workers, its mass exile of whole native populations, it establishment of a ruling class who skim off the cream of the workers production, destroy workers democracy where ever they come into power and enslave the workers they promised to free in the name of Socialism, is confused by the American workers as Socialism.

"When offered a choice between this kind of Socialism and American Capitalism, who can blame him for his choice.

"The problem facing the Left today is to give the American worker a Socialist concept he can understand, a party where in all shades of opinion can exist, a party of Socialist Democracy. Where a member can disagree with the majority with out fear of expulsion, discrimmation or even death.

"The I.S.L. believes such a party is possible only within the frame-work of the S.P.- S. D. F. Not that this organization is without fault but it has been established for the last 50 years in the minds of the American Workers as the only real democratic socialist party in America.

"All other splinter parties, in the eyes of the American Workers, are either identified with forigen countries or with ideas radical to the thinking of American workers, thereby arousing their suspicion.

"The C. P. is throughly discredited since the, Berlin, Poznan and Buda Pest debacles. Their use of the Red Army to suppress the workers of these countries have even driven their own party members to repiduate them.

"Why do you think JOHN GATES and his followers are demanding that the C. P. disband, primarily to remove the stigma of Stalinism from the American C. P.

"The S. W. P., because of its stiffnecked insistance on defense of Russia, at all cost, can never hope to

"capture the American workers loyalty. It insistance that Russia is still a Workers paradise, chiefly because of its nationalization of the means of production, despite its distruction of democracy for the working class, will not fool the very intelligent American Worker.

"The I. S. L. despite its program and principles of the 3rd Camp, neither Stalinist Imperialism or Washington capitalism, is so small that it can not, at this time, hope to enlist the support of any large segement of the working class.

"Therefore we believe the future of the American Left lies in the S. P. - S. W. P. where we could enroll the broadest variety of socialist opinion and work out a minimum program in a democratic manner to rebuild American Socialism.

"The next speaker was CHAS. WALKER, F. O. R. - Liberation Mag. WALKER pointed out that there was a real need for Socialist Regroupement there was also a real need for a reexammation by all the Radical and Evoulotionary Socialist of their aims and methods.

"He deplored the constant polemitical bickering between the various parties as leading to the confounding of the workers.

"WALKER talked of automation and Technocology and said that these, along with the various Socialist groupes seemed to forget the real, personal man, but spoke of man in the abstract.

"He went on to say that the radicals seemed to look on the Pacifist as some strange bird but he said they had tried all ways to resolve the struggle between the Classes without result. In the Russian revolution they resorted to violence and look at the result, 40 years and the violence has grown so great it threatens to engulf the whole world.

"The Hungarian revolt was another example of violence, when the revolutionist resorted to violence against

"the Stalinist Regeime , the Red Army countered with greater violence.

"On the other hand GHANDI's campaigne of civil disobediance and non violent resistance resulted in Indias freedom from Great Britian. The non-violence action in South Africa is starting to bear results in Johannesburg.

"Even here in the American South, where the Negros are being bomed, lynched and shot, the campaigne of non-violence is being successfully carried out by the Negroes.

"Take the strikers who raise their sticks against their fellow workers, does this not result in further violence and police brutality?

"We ask that you try a new approach. A peaceful non-violent approach to these problems. It takes courage to oppose Wars, it also takes sacrifice to meet violence with non-violence. But why not at least try this approach.

"We can concieve an organization to advance the cause of the workers, the minorities and for the preservation of Civil Liberty for all, that could include the pacifist, who, by their example, would have a benifical effect on all the groupes included.

"The next and last speaker was THOMAS CAREY of the S. W. P. CAREY stated that he had come to the meeting under the impression that an effort was being made to find out the prospects of a re-alingment of socialist forces and an attempt to what the future held for the left.

"He found instead a discussion on the formation of a sort of mutual admiration society. He ridiculed DAVIDSONs position on Social Democracy pointing out that that position had been exploded 40 years ago when the Social Democrats opposed the Bolshevicks and were defeated by the vote of the people.

"He pointed out that LEON TROTSKY had predicted 20 years ago what STALIN would do to the world C. P. movement.

"He then ridiculed the I.S.L. for inviting the American Left wing to join with the S. P. - S.D.F. pointing out that they themselves, despite their willingness to surrender their program and principles, in order to acchieve unity with the S. P. - S.D.F. the S.P. - S.D.F. rejected them.

"He then turned his attact on DEVINE, he pointed out that DEVINEs invitation was issued on a personal basis, contrary to his party position.

"He called attention to the S.P. - S.D.F. position as outlined in the Call. That the S.P. - S.D.F. refused to consider as members, Stalinist, Trotskyites and quase Leninist.

"He asserted that the S.W.P. was the real inheirotor of the revolutionary struggle, the only party whose program met the test of time and so forth.

"The floor was then thrown open to questions from the people gathered. The chair announced that so many questions had been submitted that it would take two days to answer them, he then stated that he would submit only those that seemed to be raised by a majority of people.

"This period did not amount to much as the speakers, instead of answering the questions to the point, used the opportunity to push their line.

"As a sample of the type questions asked. The C. P. was asked what their explanation was for the Hungarian situation.
Answer, come to the next foreum and we'll tell you.

"The S.W.P. was ask , Why, if their program was so right, the masses stayed away from their party.
The answer was, Come to our Social tomorrow and we will explaine.

"The Socialist_ were asked, Would you allow former Stalinist_ to join your party. The Answer, Yes, if they agreed that they had been wrong and would abide by our discipline.

"The pacifist_ were asked, What would recomend in a situation where you were pinned down by enemy machine gun fire, and a rescue squad with greater fire power came to your aid? The answer, Could not bow and arrow be used in place of machine guns?

"The rebutals were funny. Chiefly because the S.W.P. speaker had used up his time, the rest of them clobbered him.

"From point of view of attendance this was the biggest Left wing meeting held in Phila. There were more than 200 persons present. Representing all shades of opinions and all strata of the Socialist movement.

"Among those present whom I know personally were DAVE DAVIS-C.P._ the entire ISL membership, MARTY OPPENHIEMER, HENRY RATEDSKY, Dr. BERTHA FAUST, students from Penn, Temple & Haverford College.

"From the point of view of a representative section of the American the meeting was a huge success."

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The informant advised orally on 3/20/57 that the following ISL members attended the affair on 3/15/57: [redacted] JOSEPH DAVIDSON, [redacted], and [redacted].

Copies of this memo have been designated to the New York Office for information.

Pertinent portions of the informant's report were included in a report under the caption, "ATTEMPTS OF CPUSA TO FORM A BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION;" therefore, the Bureau is not being furnished the above information.

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[redacted]

100-16923 (B. J. WIDICK)
100-16984 ([redacted])
100-22339 ([redacted])
100-17856 ([redacted])
100-23900 ([redacted])
100-19519 ([redacted])
100-26036 ([redacted])
100-14770 ([redacted])
122-49 " "
100-20222 ([redacted])
100-20223 ([redacted])
100-20596 ([redacted])

8 - New York (REGISTERED)
1 - 100-6680 (ISL)
1 - 100- (16th CP NATIONAL CONVENTION)
1 - 100- ([redacted])
1 - 100- ([redacted])
1 - 100- (SOCIALIST PARTY)
1 - 100- (SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT FEDERATION)
1 - 100- (JEFFERSON SCHOOL)
1 - 100- (A. J. MUSTE)

INDEXED
[redacted]
[redacted] (LNU)

TO: SAC, DETROIT (100-9025) DATE: APRIL 10, 1957

FROM: SA [redacted]

100-49738-130

SUBJECT: INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE
INTERNAL SECURITY - ISL

Searched ____ Indexed ____
Serialized ____ Filed ____
4/10/57
FBI, Detroit

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DE 100-9025

INFORMANT: [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past (protect identity).

ACTIVITY: March 24, 1957.

DATE RECEIVED: March 27, 1957.

RECEIVED BY: SA [redacted]

LOCATION: [redacted].

Informant advised that a meeting of members and friends of the ISL was held at the home of [redacted], Detroit, on March 24, 1957. Informant advised that those present were HERMAN BENSON, B. J. WIDICK, [redacted] (LNU).

The following pertinent portions of the Informant's report are set forth verbatim:

"Herman Benson outlined meetings with the various groups that he had met with during the discussion on regroupment, he mentioned one group that he did not mention the previous night, and that was the SDF. He said that he did talk with some of their leaders and that there was some opposition but he felt that it could easyly be resolved; He said that most organizations at least listened to the plan and did not seem to want to discourage talk on the subject, and all were interested.

"Benson gave quite a discription of the Communist Party Convention that was held in New York City; He said that they were not allowed into the convention meetings at all, but, were left to sit ouside of the auditorium in the hallway or some room, and the Communist Party furnished a messenger who ran back and forth with bits of information from the convention

to those that were out in this room; Benson said that he was with people that knew the Communist Party and their tactics and their language of hidden meanings and so on; At first Benson said they were all confused at what the messenger was talking about and telling them what was going on inside the convention, because it seemed to be such a strange language. After a while it began to clear up and they could read between the lines, telling them that the Party was breaking up, and was no longer a solid affair nor as strong as it appeared to be before the Convention, and that they were cutting away all Russian ties, and would no longer follow the dictates of Russia in any form, thereby leaving a lot of their own members in a void with no place to turn, and who knows, perhaps, hundreds of thousands of sympathizers disappointed and lost as supporters of the CP; Benson said that there cannot be any Stalinist left, at least out in the open, because of the Hungarian Revolution and the Polish affair it seems that everybody is against Stalinism and Russia, and now most of them know that they were disolutioned in the first place and are completly demoralized and have learned their lesson. Among these people are perhaps dozens, or scores, maybe hundreds, and who knows there could be thousands; Nobody knows for sure how many there are, but it is certain that Socialists are among them, and they would easily become Social Democrats and after all we do want Social Democracy and only through Unity can we make any gains and become a Party instead remaining a sect, as we are at present; We admit to being a sect and a small one at that, but we donot know the strength or membership of the SP nor any of the other groups but regardless, be they small sects or large sects, or perhaps larger than sects, regroupment will add to the strength of Socialism; The Idea of Unity is not new, but it has been demonstrated right here in Detroit that People are interested in Socialism when they turned out one night not long ago of over 700 strong to hear a mixed group of Socialists, (here Benson said 'And I say Socialists with reservations.' He referred to the CP) and they liked it, from all reports on the meeting.

"If any group or sect or individual want Social Democracy Unity is the answer, where illusions arise among democratic socialists, most of them can be disolved through friendly discussions, and also keep on fighting for freedom at the same time, despite differences of opinions on minor or abstract matters, harmony can prevail.

"Benson Discribed his talk with Sam Friedman Organizer for the SP in New York City and said that when he approached Sam on the question of Unity and had a talk with him, Sam told him that he couldnot support him openly at the moment, but he suggested that Benson write a letter to the National Committee of the SP who where about to hold a meeting soon stating the facts on Unity, that he would support the plan at the meeting when it was brought up, and he felt sure that others would also support the program. [redacted] wanted to know who Sam Friedman was, and if he had any authority to speak for the SP, and he also wanted to know if Norman Thomas was approached on the subject, and what he said.

"Benson said that he had heard from someone that heard someone tell sombody else that Norman Thomas did support the ISL on the Unity question and would help the movement along.

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"[redacted] said that certain elements of the SP here in Detroit were opposed to Unity or any regroupment of any type, and would not even discuss it with anyone, and that the question got the brush off entirely.

"[redacted] said that the SP here in Detroit was not approahced on the subject at all and didnot know where anyone got the idea that it was a brushoff; He said that he personally thought that Unity might embarrass some groups and individuals and that could be a good reason for being against regroupment.

"Benson said that there should be no embarrassment on Social Democracy by groups nor individuals if they are sincere socialists; This is a small matter and shouldnt stand in the way of regroupment, because it is unimportant.

'[redacted] wanted to know how the idea was progressing in other cities.

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"Benson said that he has not had any complete reports form other cities but he said that in New York it has created a lot of interest at the schools like Colombia and City college discussions were held in the Jefferson school, also in New York, and all were rather favorable to regroupment and Social Democracy; Benson related an incident where he and an other ISL member went to a meeting knowing that it was dominated completely by the CP, and their purpose was to try to embarrass them or trick them into somthing or another; After the speaker was finised Bensons partner asked the speaker if he thought Russia was a social democracy, and the man said that it was a very good question and that it was a matter important enough to hold another meeting on that subject alone; Benson said that hearing that reply was enough to convince him that regroupment is necessary.

"I left at 11:15 P.M.

"In both reports on regroupment, Saturday and Sunday, Benson mentioned that he had met with group headed by A. J. Muste who wants to regroup all parties into an organization without leadership by any one group, sect or party, but governed by all groups, or represenatives of those groups elected by their own groups to serve this organization as peace makers, whenever and wherever needed.

"Benson said that so far A. J. Muste is not makeing much headway, and doesnt think that the organization will get going on a large scale,

because most of the organizations Muste wants to regroup are anti-pacifists.

"Note: [redacted] has black wavey hair and has dark brown eyes, [redacted] sharp features, and [redacted]."

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Informant also advised that he had obtained license numbers of two automobiles parked in [redacted]'s driveway on March 23, 1957, at 8 p.m. Informant advised that one of these cars was [redacted]'s [redacted] and this had 1957 license number [redacted]. He advised the other automobile was a Plymouth, having 1957 Michigan License [redacted]. This automobile is registered to [redacted], Detroit. In view of the fact that this automobile undoubtedly belongs to someone who lives in the neighborhood and not to any individual who attended the ISL meeting on March 23, 1957, these names are not being indexed.

Informant also furnished on March 27, 1957, one copy of "Labor Action," dated March 4, 1957, and the Winter 1957 issue of "The New International." This literature is located in [redacted].

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This issue of "Labor Action" contains an article entitled "The Heat is On Hoffa and Beck," by JACK WILSON. Informant has previously advised that B. J. WIDICK uses the alias JACK WILSON when writing for "Labor Action."

There are no further items of interest to the Detroit ISL contained in this literature.

4/17

LMC/lh
(31)

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[redacted]

INDEXED
[redacted]
[redacted] (LNU)
[redacted] (LNU)
[redacted]

100-16923 (B. J. WIDICK)
100-19042 ([redacted])
100-16984 ([redacted])
100-22339 ([redacted])
100-23219 ([redacted])
100-13066 ([redacted])
100-19532 ([redacted])
122-128 " "
100-19519 ([redacted])
100-23900 ([redacted])
100-25722 ([redacted])
100-17856 ([redacted])
100-17246 ([redacted])
122-49 ([redacted])
100-14770 " "
100-9395 (SOCIALIST PARTY)
100-10201 ([redacted])
105-2095 ([redacted])
100-26036 ([redacted])

100-49738-131

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
FBI - NEW YORK

10 - New York (REGISTERED)
1 - 100-6680 (ISL)
1 - 100- ([redacted])
1 - 100- ([redacted])
1 - 100- (SOCIALIST PARTY)
1 - 100- (MAX SHACHTMAN)
1 - 100- (NORMAN THOMAS)
1 - 100- ([redacted])
1 - 100- (CP EFFORTS TO FORM A BROAD SOCIALIST FRONT)
1 - 100- ([redacted])
1 - 100- (EUGENE DEBS CLUB AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY)

TO: SAC, Detroit (100-9025) DATE: April 12, 1957

FROM: SA [redacted]

SUBJECT: INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE
INTERNAL SECURITY - ISL

Searched ____ Indexed ____
Serialized ____ Filed ____
4/12/57
FBI, Detroit

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DE 100-9025

INFORMANT: [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past (protect identity).

ACTIVITY: March 23, 1957.

DATE RECEIVED: March 27, 1957.

RECEIVED BY: SA [redacted]

LOCATION: [redacted]

Informant advised that a meeting of the members of the ISL was held at the home of [redacted], [redacted], Detroit, on March 23, 1957. Informant advised that those present were HERMAN BENSON, B. J. WIDICK, [redacted] and [redacted], all of whom were present from the beginning of the meeting at 8 p.m. Informant advised that at about 9:50 p.m., [redacted] (LNU) and [redacted] arrived and about 15 minutes later [redacted] (LNU) and [redacted] arrived. Informant advised [redacted] and his wife arrived at about 10:30 p.m.

Informant advised that whoever invited the [redacted]s and [redacted] (LNU) and [redacted] (LNU) will more than likely get chewed out about it later because it messed up the agenda to the extent that there was no discussion or question period after HERMAN BENSON's report on unity. Informant said BENSON had just about completed talking about it when the outsiders knocked on the door. Informant said there was also supposed to have been a report on the fund drive and a discussion on the program for the public meeting to be held on March 24, 1957, at this meeting.

HERMAN BENSON spent some time greeting the members as they came in and at about 8:45 he began his report. BENSON stated that the unity question was creating a stir

in all of the socialist groups and most of them are sure such a movement is necessary but none have a plan or even a suggestion of a new program or even how to go about presenting a program that all elements of the socialists would listen to. BENSON said that in his talk with JOHN GATES of the CP, GATES admitted that he was for unity but there was the important question of Russia and that GATES could not just drop it and forget about it but must consider several facts. One of the facts that GATES must consider is whether Russia can be supported as a democracy in the social sense. BENSON said that GATES said this is only one of the many important issues that would face the interested groups but GATES admitted to BENSON that as far as connections with the Russian CP are concerned, the American CP is finished, that it has cut all ties with it and has no intention of ever being influenced by it. BENSON said that GATES said he, himself, would like to see all socialist groups united into one party.

BENSON said that the important thing about the unity question is that the ISL, an unheard group, should be the one to first present the question and also present a plan to make it work. BENSON said most of the arguments against the unity question concerned how each group of socialists can get their own differences of opinions on political questions settled by joining the Socialist Party. BENSON said that this argument does not hold water when it is explained that these same differences that caused them to split in the first place took a long time to make any difference important enough to break away, and that by the same reasoning, it will take a long time to settle the differences all within the same party. BENSON said it is felt by those that support unity that all of the questions can be resolved in time without any real trouble or dissatisfied membership.

BENSON admitted that it may take years to resolve a question but the important thing is unity and after all the groups realize that, a lot of questions will resolve themselves.

BENSON said that he had also had a meeting with SAM FRIEDMAN, who is the Organizer or leader of the New York Branch of the Socialist Party, and that FRIEDMAN thinks that the unity question can be resolved and he is in favor of it. BENSON said that the ISL was getting a lot of publicity out of the unity question and that the Eugene Debs Club at Columbia University sponsored a discussion and question meeting on the unity question. BENSON said that at first there was a certain group that opposed the meeting but they were overruled. He said that MICHAEL HARRINGTON was also allowed to speak there on unity. Informant advised that HARRINGTON is Chairman of the Young Socialist League.

BENSON reported that just before MAX SHACHTMAN left for the west coast, SHACHTMAN had a talk with NORMAN THOMAS about the unity question and said that SHACHTMAN told THOMAS he would like to have THOMAS' view on the unity question before he started his tour, so he would be able to tell the various groups before which he spoke just what the leadership of the Socialist Party thought about the move to unify the socialists into one group. SHACHTMAN told THOMAS that he felt the best place to get the information would be Mr. THOMAS himself. BENSON said that THOMAS asked SHACHTMAN a number of questions about the ISL and their political views on various questions and finally asked him if the ISL leaned more toward the Leninist viewpoint than any other. BENSON said that SHACHTMAN then quoted some of THOMAS' words that SHACHTMAN was familiar with and said that THOMAS just smiled and said he wanted to hear SHACHTMAN say that himself. BENSON said that THOMAS told SHACHTMAN that he could go out and tell the groups he was going to speak before that THOMAS does support the unity movement and feels that all socialists should support it, including those in the Socialist Party and all others that have socialist leanings.

BENSON reported that most of the Socialist Party leaders are scared of the unity program because of personal reasons and said that is where the difficulty

will come in because all of the leaders in each group would more than likely want to be some sort of a leader in the Socialist Party and that would not be possible. BENSON said that the ISL would be satisfied with a member on the National Committee of the Socialist Party after regroupment. BENSON said that something then could be worked out about the press of each group and some would more than likely have to be discontinued. All of these problems would not be hard to settle, BENSON said.

BENSON said that in the program for regroupment, all that any one party must agree to is to be against Stalinism and imperialism all over the world and that only through social democracy can they be united. BENSON said that the whole program is that the United States democratic imperialism be supported against all other forms of imperialist governments, including Stalinism, and to defend the United States against any aggression by any foreign nation and to work for democratic socialism all over the world.

Informant advised that BENSON would have continued into the question and answer period but because of the presence of the "outsiders" he had to talk in a lower voice and it was difficult for him to even say as much as he did to finish his report.

SAC, NEW YORK (100-2878) 4/17/57

SA ANTHONY E. CONSTANTINO (#7-2)

b2
b7D

WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
IS-SP

Source	[redacted]
Reliability	Who is in a position to furnish reliable information
Date of Activity	4/5/57
Date Received	4/15/57
Agent to whom furnished	ANTHONY E. CONSTANTINO
Location	Instant memo

On 4/5/57, above source advised the writer that the bank had received a request for a reference on the International Freedom Petition for Hungary, 112 East 19th St., NYC. Source stated that they had no record of this organization and therefore, furnished a negative answer to the request.

The source further advised that at a later date a representative from the Workers Defense League appeared at the bank and stated that the International Freedom Petition for Hungary was part of the WDL.

This information is being furnished for informational purposes only.

It is requested that the information be treated as confidential.

Indexed 100-2878

1 - New York (100-49738) (Socialist Party) (#7-3)
1 - New York ([redacted]) (P & C)

AEC:jls
(3)

100-49738-132

SEARCHED ..... INDEXED .....
SERIALIZED ..... FILED .....
APR 17 1957
FBI - NEW YORK

FD-36 (Rev. 3-13-56)

F B I

Date: 4/26/57

Transmit the following message via AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-42950)

SUBJECT: FEDERATED SOCIALIST YOUTH OF PHILADELPHIA
IS - ISL

Re PH airtel, 4/19/57.

On 4/25/57, [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished SA JOHN F. PHELAN, JR., with a newsletter he received from the captioned organization which consists of the Young Peoples Socialist League and the Young Socialist League.

3 - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
7 - New York
(1 - YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE)
(1 - YPSL)
(1 - SOCIALIST PARTY)
(1 - 100-6680 - ISL)
(1 - THIRD CAMP)
(1 - ALBERT GATES)
11 - Philadelphia
(1 - 100-42950)
(1 - 100-7121 - ISL)
(1 - 100-31450 - YSL)
(1 - 100-15348 - SP)
(1 - 100-40901 - SDF)
(1 - 100-41694 - THIRD CAMP)
(1 - 100-32106 - [redacted])
(1 - 100-38083 - [redacted])
(1 - 100-42297 - [redacted])
(1 - [redacted])
(1 - [redacted])

b2
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b7C
b7D

JFP:ARD
(21)

100-46738-133

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
APR 27 1957
FBI-NEW YORK

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

The newsletter was dated May, 1957, and consisted of four pages. Page 1 contained an announcement of a May Day celebration on 5/1/57, with the Socialist Party-Socialist Democratic Federation, the ISL and the Third Camp. According to the letter, the "newly organized FSYP would also participate. Speakers were to be DAVE MC REYNOLDS of the SP-SDF, ALBERT GATES of ISL, and CHARLES WALKER of Third Camp.

Page 1 also contained an announcement of a joint YPSL and YSL May Day Party on 5/3/57. The item read "The two groups recently had established a federation for action purposes in Phila." The item also mentioned that an open meeting was being planned for discussion on the H-Bomb threat.

Page 4 of the newsletter contained an announcement which invited former members of the Communist Party youth to join the FSYP.

[redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, on 4/25/57, advised he contacted FRANCIS CARNER, ISL Organizer, concerning captioned organization, and CARNER stated he knew nothing about it. Informant noted that approximately one month ago the leaders of the YSL in Philadelphia expressed opposition to the ISL merging with the SP, yet the YSL merged with the YPSL, the youth of the SP.

b2
b7D

The activities of the FSYP are being closely followed and the Bureau will be advised of any pertinent information.

It is requested that Philadelphia be advised if the Bureau or New York has any information concerning similar YSL mergers, primarily for the purpose of directing the activities of [redacted] and [redacted]. It is noted that MARTIN OPPENHEIMER, Organizer of the YSL in Philadelphia, may have merged with the YPSL without the knowledge of the National Office of the YSL since they had previous differences.

For the information of New York, re airtel set out information reflecting that the captioned organization had been formed by a merger of the YSL and YPSL. The information was obtained from a letter of the Philadelphia Third Camp and was signed by DAVID J. PIVAR, YPSL, and MARTIN OPPENHEIMER, YSL.

Philadelphia expects to have informant coverage at affairs on 5/1 and 3/57.

HENNRICH

OFFICE MEMORANDUM .... UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK DATE: APR 26 1957

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (100-1103)

b2
b7D

SUBJECT: FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

[redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, and whose identity must be protected, on April 4, 1957, furnished a seven-page bulletin captioned, "PARAPHRASE OF DISCUSSION IN NEW YORK DECEMBER 8-9, 1956" which, according to the bulletin, was prepared by "A. J. MUSTE, c/o LIBERATION, 110 Christopher St., New York 14, N.Y." This bulletin, indicating that it was "NOT FOR PUBLICATION", sets forth a paraphrase of discussion between representatives of various groups, including trade unionists, A. J. MUSTE, YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE, INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE, SOCIALIST PARTY, AMERICAN SOCIALIST, SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, INDEPENDENT SOCIALISTSand teachers who met "as individuals in response to a personal invitation from A. J. MUSTE". Enclosures filed in 100-7546

According to the bulletin, the discussion revolved around three topics: (1) the objective situation in the international field, including reaction to events in Egypt, Hungary, etc.; (2) the conditions and outlook in the United States, attitude of American workers, etc.; (3) prospects for "socialist unity", "regrouping of the Left", etc., and how this objective may be achieved.

100-20802
100-130107
100-6650
100-116907

According to the bulletin the discussion for some time dealt with the first field, then by common consent the second and third were treated together.

AVS/mmj
(10)

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
APR 29 1957
FBI - NEW YORK

2 - New York (100-)(FOR)(Enc.5)(RM)
1 - New York (A. J. MUSTE)(RM)
1 - New York (INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE)(RM) 100-49738-934
1 - New York (YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE)(RM)
1 - New York (100-116907 - SOCIALIST UNION OF AMERICA)(RM)
1 - New York (100-4013 - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY)(RM)
1 - New York (SOCIALIST PARTY)(RM)
1 - Boston (100-1103)
1 - Boston ([redacted])

According to [redacted], he obtained the above bulletin on March 27, 1957, at a meeting of the SOCIALIST UNITY COMMITTEE of Boston (formerly known as UNITED SOCIALIST COMMITTEE OF BOSTON) from one [redacted], a representative of the FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION's Boston Chapter.

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[redacted] has no further details concerning the above "Discussion" meeting at New York. As no further details are available to the Boston Division, five photostatic copies of the bulletin, obtained by informant, are being furnished for the information of the New York Division for whatever action is deemed appropriate.

In the event additional information is obtained by the Boston Division, New York will be advised.

The original copy of the seven-page bulletin furnished by informant is located in Boston File 100-1103-1A.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, CHICAGO DATE: 5/1/57

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-6680)

SUBJECT: INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE
IS-ISL

Source [redacted]

Reliability Who has furnished reliable information in the past

Date of Activity 4/11/57

Date Received 4/17/57

Received by SA A. LEWIS BARNETT

Location [redacted]

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

2 - Chicago (100- ISL)(RM)
(1 - 100- [redacted])
1 - Los Angeles (100- ISL)(Info)(RM)
1 - Newark (100- ISL)(Info)(RM)
1 - San Francisco (100- ISL)(Info)(RM)
1 - Seattle (100- ISL)(Info)(RM)
1 - NY ([redacted])(P&C)(#7-3)
1 - NY (100-97470)(ISL, NY Division)(#7-3)
1 - NY (100-80693)(YSL)(#7-3)
1 - NY (100-126432)(YSL, NY Division)(#7-3)
1 - NY (100-25903)(MAX SHACHTMAN)(#7-3)
1 - NY (100-81901)([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - NY (100-49738)(Socialist Party)(#7-3)
1 - NY (100-4931)(Communist Party)(#19)
1 - NY (100-50910)([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - NY (100-122015)([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - NY (100-131812)([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - NY (100-121808)([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - NY (100-96862)([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - NY (100-79797)([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - NY (100-131419)([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - NY (100-131971)([redacted] LNU)([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - NY (100-110186)([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - NY (100-86184)([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - NY (100-98858)([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - NY (100-90937)([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - NY (100-6680) (#7-3)

ALB:mfd
(27)

100-49738-135

SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
MAY 1 1957
FBI - NEW YORK

The source furnished a written report covering an ISL-YSL meeting on 4/11/57, at 114 West 14th Street, NYC. The report is set forth below:

"Apl. 11th, 1957

"Arrived 114 West 14th St. 8:30 PM. Left: 10:45 PM.

"ISL-YSL. Forum.

"Speaker: Max Shachtman
"Moderator: Al Finley
"Topic: Discussion 'Regroupment of Socialist Unity"

"Much more success with the SP in California as regards to Socialist Unity - Seattle, Berkerley, Los Angeles they held branch meetings - All comardes there are with us as to Socialist Unity - In Chicago there were about 650 people - Sibley claimed the New Deal did not solve the economic situation in the United States - Only Socialism will be the answer to our problems - In Atlantic City the attendance was good - The results were nil - SP; SDF; Cockrinites, Negro delegates, and the CP were all in attendance - [redacted] - Big problem is to win over the former CP members - We know a number will join after, but so far are silent on Unity - There is a big fight ahead - Small radical groups are all over the United States but the prospects are good.

b7D

"Attendance: Roughly forty persons.

"Members: Al Gates; [redacted]

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b7C

"Others present: Max Martin; [redacted] (short dark hair)"

On 4/17/57, informant orally advised SAS REESE L. TIMMONS and A. LEWIS BARNETT the following information:

The meeting on 4/11/57, was suppose to have been for the purpose of continuing discussion regarding ISL-YSL-SP-SDF Unity; however, when the group learned that MAX SHACHTMAN would be there they decided to have him speak regarding his recent tour.

Concerning [redacted] (LNU) mentioned in informant's report, the informant advised he believes this individual is identical with the husband of [redacted] (LNU). (Informant has previously identified a photograph of [redacted] as identical with [redacted] (LNU).) b6 b7C

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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b7D

TO : SAC, CHICAGO (100-1840) DATE: 5-2-57

FROM : SA RICHARD M. KIRBY

SUBJECT: INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE
IS - ISL

On April 2, 1957, [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished to SA GERARD A. PERKINS through a blind post office box a handwritten report concerning a Chicago ISL meeting which was held on March 29, 1957, at the home of [redacted], [redacted], Chicago, Illinois. This report is retained in [redacted].

1 - San Francisco (100-) (FNU [redacted]) (Registered)
5 - New York (100-) (Socialist Party) (Registered)
1 - 100- (MAX SHACHTMAN)
1 - 100- ([redacted])
1 - 100-6680 (ISL)
1 - 100- ([redacted])
1 - Seattle (100-) (ISL) (Info.) (Registered)
22 - Chicago
1 - [redacted]
1 - 100-20609 ([redacted])
1 - 100-24042 ([redacted])
1 - 100-21399 ([redacted])
1 - 100-27272 ([redacted])
1 - 100-20801 (SAUL MENDELSON)
1 - 100-25101 ([redacted])
1 - 100-31861 ([redacted])
1 - 100-30817 ([redacted])
1 - 100-21552 ([redacted])
1 - 100-23582 ([redacted])
1 - 100-21225 ([redacted])

100-49738-136

Rec'd from SAC Chgo. by R/S, 5/3/57 7:3 PC

This does not concern me. bPB

(Copies continued on page 2)
RMK:jjg
(29)

SEARCHED ..... INDEXED
SERIALIZED ..... FILED
MAR 6 1957
FBI - CHICAGO

SEARCHED ..... IND.
SERIALIZED ..... F
APR 25 1957
FBI - CHIC.

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b7C

CG 100-1840

Chicago Copies Continued

1 - 100-24085 ([redacted])
1 - 100-24289 ([redacted])
1 - 100-32779 ([redacted])
1 - 100-33108 ([redacted])
1 - 100-22223 ([redacted])
1 - 100-18099 (YSL)
1 - 100-33394 (Symposium - "Socialism and Democracy")
1 - 100-6512 (Socialist Party)
1 - 100-19332 (ST. CLAIR DRAKE)

This report states that the following individuals were present at the meeting, in addition to the informant:

[redacted]
SAUL and [redacted] MENDELSON
[redacted]
MAX SHACHTMAN

A female (probably Mrs. [redacted]), [redacted], [redacted] lbs., approximately [redacted] years old, [redacted] hair, and believed by informant to have accompanied SHACHTMAN on his visit to Chicago.

A couple: The man, [redacted], [redacted] lbs., approximately [redacted] years old, thin light hair, wearing [redacted]. Concerning this man, SAUL MENDELSON stated that he gave [redacted] a week to the ISL and that last year he gave [redacted] to the ISL fund drive. The woman, [redacted], [redacted] lbs., approximately [redacted] years of age, black hair.

At the meeting, SAUL MENDELSON reported that the Four Way Socialist Forum would be holding two meetings during the coming quarter:

1. A meeting featuring one B. GUPTO, who will speak on the Socialist movements in the Near East.

2. A meeting featuring ST. CLAIR DRAKE, who will speak on Africa.

MENDELSON also reported at the meeting on the results of the symposium which was held on March 27, 1957. He stated that about 525 people were in attendance and that the ISL made not more than $10.00 but lost not more than $20.00. According to the informant, the exact figures on the symposium were not yet available.

At the meeting, MAX SHACHTMAN gave a report to the group concerning the question of unity between the ISL and the Socialist Party. SHACHTMAN stated that he had talked with NORMAN THOMAS and that THOMAS had told SHACHTMAN that he would write the Socialist Party National Committee and suggest to them that they begin discussing unity with the ISL, and that they appoint a committee to take up this question. SHACHTMAN felt that this showed THOMAS to be open to the idea of unity, if not in favor of it, since if THOMAS were opposed to unity, he would not suggest that the National Committee of the Socialist Party discuss it.

SHACHTMAN also reported a talk that took place between himself and EARL BROWDER. He stated that both BROWDER and THOMAS agreed that the Socialist Party should be the basis for unifying the American Socialist movement and that a unified Socialist Party would be a broad, loosely disciplined party in which many tendencies would exist. BROWDER agreed that there must be some means of keeping Stalinists out of the Socialist Party.

Speaking generally, SHACHTMAN stated that on the whole, members of the ISL were not enthusiastic about unifying with the Socialist Party. SHACHTMAN reported to the group on the various meetings at which he had spoken in different cities throughout the country. SHACHTMAN emphasized the fact that some Socialist Party members had been convinced that the ISL should unite with the Socialist Party and offered to write the National Committee and request that the question of unity be investigated. SHACHTMAN stated that at one Socialist Party meeting he encountered no one who was absolutely opposed to unity.

Speaking about Seattle, Washington, SHACHTMAN mentioned the name of some Negro member of the ISL, a minister of some sort, who was active in the Frontier Club, and who had stated that he could bring 30 people into a united Socialist Party group.

SHACHTMAN also mentioned a new YSL member in Berkeley, California, by the name of THOMAS.

A I R T E L --- UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-86590) DATE: 5/3/57

FROM : SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-7121)

SUBJECT: INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE
IS - ISL

C I N A L

(00: New York)

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On 5/2/57, [redacted] and [redacted], who have furnished reliable information in the past, orally advised SA JOHN F. PHELAN, JR., that they attended a joint May Day celebration sponsored by

6 - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
3 - 100-86590
1 - 100-424101 (ATTEMPTS OF CPUSA TO FORM A BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION)
1 - 100-16 (SWP)
1 - 100- (SP)
6 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - 100- ([redacted])
1 - 100- (MAX SHACHTMAN)
1 - 100-130507 (ATTEMPTS OF CPUSA TO FORM A BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION)
1 - 100-6680 (ISL)
1 - 100- (SP)
1 - 100-4013 (SWP)
13- Philadelphia
1 - 100-7121
1 - 100-38083 ([redacted])
1 - 100-42297 ([redacted])
1 - 100-31450 (YSL)
1 - 100-40 (FOR)
1 - 100-15348 (SP)
1 - 100-10581 (YPSL)
1 - 100-42950 (FSYP)
1 - 100-42651 (ATTEMPTS OF CPUSA TO FORM A BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION)
1 - 100-2036 (SWP)
1 - 100-42205 Sub A (CINAL, LIBRARY)
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

100-49738-137

JFP:LRB
(25)

c/o
#7-3
5/3/57 7124
FMC

the following organizations: Independent Socialist League (ISL), Young Socialist League (YSL), Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), Socialist Party (SP), and the Federated Socialist Youth of Philadelphia (FSYP).

According to the informants, the affair was strictly a May Day celebration and was attended by approximately 35 people. There were three speakers who were allowed ten minutes each to discuss May Day. CHARLES WALKER of the FOR was the main speaker, ROBERT BENSON of the National Office of the ISL was next, followed by DAVE McREYNOLDS of the SP.

McREYNOLDS in his talk stated that the time had come for all socialists in America to reorganize and become united in a new socialist party. He added that "all socialists should unite except such outstandingly bitter organizations as the Communist Party." The informants stated that no mention was made of the Socialist Workers Party.

During the affair a representative of the FSYP announced that the FSYP was being dissolved completely. He said the organization was formed by the YPSL and the YSL for the purpose of working jointly on certain matters of joint interest. MARTIN OPPENHEIMER, Organizer of the YSL, also commented on this matter and said he wanted it publicly known that the FSYP was dissolved.

BENSON in his talk mentioned that socialists throughout the United States should unite together in one organization. PH 241-S was of the opinion that BENSON was very much in favor of a merger between the ISL and SP. The informant added that he believed the ISL and the SP were very close to an agreement to merge. He stated the ISL Convention in New York this summer will probably decide this matter; however, with MAX SHACHTMAN pushing the merger he would probably win out over the opposition in the ISL due to his position as National Chairman.

[redacted] also stated that from the reaction of members of the SP and other socialist organizations, the Communist Party and the SWP were definitely not being considered in any merger plans with the SP. The informant noted that the SWP has constantly criticized the ISL and at one time was very bitter towards the CP. b2 b7D

At the present time he feels that the CP and the SWP are very close to each other. He noted that in his opinion the SWP would welcome a merger with the CP at this time although the leaders of the SWP may feel that they can win over a number of CP members in view of the disagreements caused by the recent CP Convention.

It is noted that Philadelphia leaders of the CP and SWP have met privately during recent weeks. At one such meeting plans were made for a joint meeting of the two organizations in regard to the MORTON SOBEL case.

HENNRICH

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

1957

To: Director, FBI (100-16)

Date: ~~4/29/57~~

b2
b6
b7C
b7D

From: SAC, Boston (100-442)

Subject: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP

[redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, and whose identity must be protected, on April 24, 1957, advised that at a meeting of the Boston Branch, Socialist Workers Party, held

AVS:lmm
(33)

3 - Bureau (Registered Mail)
2 - SWP (100-16)
1 - American Forum for Socialist Education (100-

23 - New York (Registered Mail)
1 - SWP (100-4013)
1 - Farrell Dobbs (100-7388)
1 - American Forum for Socialist Education (100-
1 - A.J. Muste (100-
1 - [redacted] (100-59096)
1 - (fnu) [redacted] (100-
1 - [redacted] (100-
1 - [redacted] (100-
1 - [redacted] (100-
1 - [redacted] (100-
1 - [redacted] (100-
1 - Max Shachtman (100-
1 - CP Organization (100-
1 - SUA (100-
1 - SUC (100-
1 - "National Guardian" (100-
1 - TSL (100-
1 - [redacted] (100-
1 - Socialist Party (100-
1 - Norman Thomas (100-
1 - [redacted] (100-
1 - (fnu) [redacted] (ph.) (100-
1 - [redacted] (ph.) (100-

2 - Los Angeles (Registered Mail)
1 - [redacted] (100-
1 - American Forum for Socialist Education (100-

5 - Boston
1 - SWP (100-442)
1 - [redacted]
1 - L. Trainor (100-7697)
1 - Paul Sweezy (100-19065)
1 - F. Luscomb (100-1843)

Indexed to 100-442:
American Forum for Socialist Education

100-49738-138

SEARCHED ___ INDEXED ___
SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
MAY 6 1957
FBI — NEW YORK

BS 100-442

April 11, 1957, LAWRENCE TRAINOR, Organizer of the Branch and an SWP National Committee member, announced receipt of a communication from the National Office, SWP, to SWP National Committee members only, concerning the "American Forum for Socialist Education" (AFSE).

According to Informant, TRAINOR actually had two reports on this subject:

1. The official communication issued by A.J. MUSTE of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, which TRAINOR only mentioned by name but made no mention as to its contents, and

2. The official SWP version, reportedly dated 3/27/57, as reported by the SWP's National Secretary, FARRELL DOBBS, out of which TRAINOR read pertinent sections.

TRAINOR read that the "American Forum for Socialist Education" is a new organization founded in New York City on March 23, 1957, under the sponsorship of A. J. MUSTE, who on March 23, 1957 called a Founding Conference of leaders of various left-wing parties and groups in New York City. According to TRAINOR, the communication stated that among those attending this March 23, 1957 Conference were the following representatives and their organizations:

SWP - FARRELL DOBBS and TOM KERRY, National Secretary and Organizational Secretary, respectively, of the SWP.

Communist Party - (fnu) BLOOMBERG

Socialist Unity Committee of New York City - MICHAEL BARTELL (ZASLOW)
CLIFFORD McAVOY

"The American Socialist" - HARRY BRAVERMAN

"National Guardian" - GEORGE McMANUS

Independent Socialist League - an unidentified leader.

Socialist Party - two unidentified individuals.

Informant advised that according to TRAINOR, PAUL SWEEZY (Bufile 100-346046) was also present, representing an unrecalled periodical. (It is noted that SWEEZY is Co-Editor of "Monthly Review," a monthly periodical.)

Informant further advised that while he was not certain, it was his recollection that in addition to BLOOMBERG of the CP and an unidentified leader of the ISL, TRAINOR also mentioned that JOHN GATES of the CP and MAX SHACHTMAN had also been present at the Conference.

The DOBBS communication, according to TRAINOR, reported that BRAVERMAN attended the morning session but failed to return for the afternoon session, indicating possible "American Socialist" withdrawal from participation in this newly-formed organization.

DOBBS also commented that one of the representatives at the Conference had stated that the SWP would not participate in this MUSTE proposed Forum, since it would conflict with the SWP's program and that he, DOBBS, had assured the representative and MUSTE that such was not the case and that the SWP will participate in the Forum.

TRAINOR stated that according to the communication, the chief aim of the AFSE is to promote discussion among all Socialists, with all-over "regroupment" as the goal, based on a program that must be practical, workable, and acceptable, and that MUSTE recommended that the AFSE be launched on a national level and that the national leadership consist of an Executive Committee of up to 50 members.

To begin, TRAINOR stated, a "Working Committee" of 16 or 17 members was set up to put approved and adopted Conference plans into action. Among the 16-17 member Working Committee" were such names as CLIFFORD McAVOY, FARRELL DOBBS, TOM KERRY, A.J. MUSTE, MAX SHACHTMAN, BERT COCHRAN, NORMAN THOMAS, and GEORGE McMANUS.

In connection with the above, Informant on 4/24/57 further advised that at the 4/18/57 meeting of the Boston Branch, SWP, LAWRENCE TRAINOR summarized very briefly the contents of another communication, reportedly dated April, 1957, from the National Office, SWP, to SWP National Committee members concerning the "Working Committee" of the AFSE. Informant noted that the author of this communication was not mentioned.

According to TRAINOR, this communication announced that the "Working Committee" has been organized, has begun to function as such, and that at present it is engaged in the task of selecting a National Committee of approximately 50 members to direct the AFSE.

TRAINOR further stated that according to this communication, the AFSE plans to organize branches in various major cities throughout the United States.

He stated that the following individuals were identified as members of the current "Working Committee":

"DOXIE" WILKINSON of the Communist Party, USA,
MICHAEL ZASLOW of the Socialist Unity Committee of New York City,
A.J. MUSTE of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and
one (fnu) HARDIMAN (ph.).

Informant advised that it was his belief that (fnu) HARDIMAN (ph.) was a Socialist Party representative.

According to Informant, TRAINOR on this occasion made no mention of CLIFFORD McAVOY, FARRELL DOBBS, TOM KERRY, BERT COCHRAN, NORMAN THOMAS, or GEORGE McMANUS, all identified in the previously mentioned DOBBS communication as being included on this "Working Committee."

TRAINOR did report, however, that the ISL's MAX SHACHTMAN had declined the "Working Committee's" invitation to become a member of the AFSE's National Committee, although SHACHTMAN agreed to work with the organization at certain times on specific questions, not further specified. TRAINOR interpreted SHACHTMAN's refusal of the National Committee post to be another indication of SHACHTMAN's desire to curry favor with the Socialist Party - Social Democratic Federation coalition for the purpose of merging his ISL with that coalition.

TRAINOR further mentioned that the "Working Committee" has extended to FLORENCE LUSCOMB of Cambridge, Massachusetts (Bufile 100-37681), to one SAM POLLOCK (ph.), and to one CHARLES CURTIS, an invitation to become members of the AFSE's National Committee. Informant advised that POLLOCK (ph.) reportedly is a former member of the SWP. He stated he possessed no further information concerning POLLOCK.

With respect to CURTIS, Informant advised that this individual is a former member of the Los Angeles Branch of the SWP who, he believes, left the SWP in approximately 1952 or 1953. Informant advised he possessed no further information concerning CURTIS.

Informant advised that he possessed no further information concerning the above organization. He was cautioned to remain alert for any further information concerning the AFSE, and in the event any further information concerning this organization is obtained by the Boston Division, Bureau and interested offices will be immediately advised.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-97470)(#7-3) DATE: 5/1/57

FROM : SA A. LEWIS BARNETT (#7-3)

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SUBJECT: INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE
NEW YORK DIVISION
IS-ISL

Source [redacted] (protect)

Reliability Who has furnished reliable information in the past

Date of Activity 4/4/57

Date Received 4/12/57

Received by SA A. LEWIS BARNETT

1 - Chicago (100- SID LENS)(RM)(Via R/S)
1 - Newark ([redacted])(RM)(Via R/S)
1 - Philadelphia ([redacted])(RM)(Via R/S)
1 - [redacted] (P&C)(#7-3)
1 - 100-6680 (ISL)(#7-3)
1 - 100-50910 ([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - 100-54584 ([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - 100-81901 ([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - 100-49738 (SOCIALIST PARTY)(#7-3)
1 - 100-25693 ([redacted])(#19)
1 - 100-4931 (Communist Party)(#19)
1 - 100-20802 (A. J. MUSTE)(#19)
1 - 100-131940(Organization called "American Socialist Forum" proposed by A. J. MUSTE) (#19)
1 - 100-17923 ([redacted])(#19)
1 - 100-115928 ([redacted])(#19)
1 - 100-7546 (FOR)(#1)
1 - 100-4013 (SWP)(#7-3)
1 - 100-7388 (FARRELL DOBBS)(#7-3)
1 - 100-59096 ([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - 100-121672 ([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - 100-7664 (JOHN T. McMANUS)(#7-2)
1 - 100-25903 (MAX SHACHTMAN)(#7-3)
1 - 100- ([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - 100-9984 (AL BLUMBERG)(#19)
1 - 100-61928 ([redacted])(#7-3)

ALB:mfd
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100-49738

INDEXED
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1 1957
FBI-NEW YORK

100-49738-139

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NY 100-97470

Location [redacted]

The source furnished a written report covering an ISL-YSL meeting on 4/4/57. This report is set forth below:

"April 4, 1957

"Arrived 114 West 14th Street: 8:00 PM. Left: 11:15

"Function: ISL-YSL Discussion.

"Speakers: Al Gates, H. Benson.

"Moderator: Al Finley

COPIES CONT'D

1 - 100-116907 (SUA)(#7-3)
1 - 100-117452 ([redacted] LNU)([redacted])(7-3)
1 - 100-131971 ([redacted] LNU)([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - 100-79797 ([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - 100-79760 ([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - 100-117896 ([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - 100-110186 ([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - 100-131419 ([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - 100-128588 ([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - 100-118883 ([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - 100-131795 ([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - 100-122015 ([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - 100-121808 ([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - 100-125221 ([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - 100-128317 ([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - 100-90937 ([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - 100-124239 ([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - 100-131812 ([redacted])(#7-3)
1 - 100-130507 (Attempts of CP to form a Broad Socialist Organization)(#19)
1 - 100-80693 (YSL)(#7-3)
1 - 100-126432 (YSL, NY Division)(#7-3)

"Topic: 'Developments around the Socialist-Regroupment'

"H. Benson: - Reported on meetings, discussions etc. on the developments for the past few weeks - SP not interested in Re-groupment - SP not in favor of a joint 'May Day' celebration with the ISL - Browders position on Re-groupment is very much as that of the ISL - The CP's attitude towards the SP is thought of as a possible vehicle for Re-groupment - Musty's called a conference with the aim of setting up a group to be called the 'American Socialist-Forum' - Also to set up committee's of the same kind in all the different cities - It is a perfect designed formula for the Gatesites - The ISL position on Regroupment is that the group must stand for Democracy all over the world - Musty took an unfriendly attitude towards the SP -

"Al Gates: - Roughly their were about fifteen who attended the conference that was called by Musty - Granville Hicks - Member of FOR; Representatives of five organizations - One or two unattached - SWP; Dobs - Kerry - Gates for the CP - Musty's group, Dilenger - Charlie Walker (Phila) Dave McRenolds of SP - McManus for the Guardian - Musty opened with a long report - He already knew what was Max Shachtman's views on it - Max Shachtman sent him a letter in advance as he was unable to attend - Hicks thought it was a hopeless venture - He presented the idea for all to think about - Breakdown the tensions of the past - something new, humanism to be included - He made reference to the SP who was not willing to participate - McRenolds opened the discussion by questioning as to why the SP was unwilling to participate - Al Gates stated that it was too premature for the setting up of an organization and it would certainly crash - It must be clear that it stands for Democractic Socialism to the World - If not, the ISL will not go along - He was there representing Max Shachtman and in turn will have to discuss it with him - Blomber of the Gatesites states his party was losing people and it would be ideal as we need something new - Delinger said there was no right to adopt a position on Russia and its

"slatilites - Bartel said when it is set up it will not be an organization but a committee fighting for all rights - The Cockrinites said nothing - After lunch Musty sumarised the discussion and immediately set up the organization - Twenty-five Stalinist -- and twenty-five Non-Stalinist - Max Shachtman was nominated in his absence which was very bad (misleading to others) - They all pleaded for the ISL to join - Only one there who was anti-Stalinist - Sid Lee (Chicago) was put on the committee - also McRenolds - It is going to be stamped as a Stalinist organization - Socialist Regroupment depends on the position of the Soviet Union.

"Attendance: Roughly about forty-five.

"Members: [redacted]

"Others present: [redacted] (short, Black hair, around [redacted] yrs.) [redacted] (Big, Blonde Hair, [redacted] around [redacted]

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"Forthcoming Forum: On Thursday Apl. 11th, 1957. The same discussion will be continued."

On 4/17/57, [redacted] orally advised SAS REESIE L. TIMMONS and A. LEWIS BARNETT that the [redacted] (LNU) mentioned above is the same [redacted] he had reported as present at other ISL functions. [redacted] is a white, male, approximately [redacted] years old, short dark hair, [redacted].

Concerning ISL membership, informant advised he had inadvertently listed [redacted] and [redacted] as members, while actually he does not know them as members as he has not observed them paying dues.

Concerning [redacted] (LNU), informant stated he believes this individual is identical with the husband of [redacted] (LNU). (It is noted that informant has previously identified a photograph of [redacted] as identical with the [redacted] mentioned above.)

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Concerning [redacted] (LNU) mentioned in informant's report, [redacted] identified a photograph of [redacted] as identical with this individual.

Concerning SID LEE of Chicago, it is believed this person is probably identical with SID LENS.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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TO : SAC (100-7121) DATE: 5/9/57

FROM : SA JOHN F. PHELAN, JR.

SUBJECT: INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE
IS - ISL

On 4/8/57, [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, personally provided a written report to SA PHELAN. This report is maintained in [redacted].

3 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)
(1 - ISL)
(1 - SOCIALIST PARTY)
(1 - MAX SHACHTMAN)

15 - Philadelphia
(1 - 100-7121)
(1 - 100-32106 ([redacted]))
(1 - 100-35564 ([redacted]))
(1 - 100-33089 ([redacted]))
(1 - 100-35512 ([redacted]))
(1 - 100-28217 (JOSEPH DAVIDSON))
(1 - 100-18711 ([redacted]))
(1 - 100-31370 ([redacted]))
(1 - 100-42320 (NORMAN THOMAS))
(1 - 100-32297 ([redacted]))
(1 - 100-32731 ([redacted]))
(1 - 100-36296 ([redacted]))
(1 - 100-15348 (SOCIALIST PARTY))
(1 - 100-41694 (THIRD CAMP))
(1 - [redacted])

100-49738-140

JFP:rdc
(18)

INDEXED: [redacted]
MAX SHACHTMAN
"NEGROES ON THE MARCH"
UNIVERSALIST CHURCH FORUM

Searched _____ Indexed _____
Serialized _____ Filed _____
May 9, 1957
FBI-PHILADELPHIA
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"I.S.L. Meeting

"Regular meeting Phila. Branch I.S.L.
April 2nd 1957 at 703 Walnut St.
Chairman [redacted]. Those present, [redacted], JOE and [redacted] DAVIDSON and [redacted].

"The agenda was as follows.
Old Buisness. Report on May Day discussion with Third Camp Com.
Discussion on [redacted]s proposals.
Report on symposium at Universalist Church.
Report on Fund Drive.
New buisness. Report on pre-convention proposals. Suggestions on a Public Meeting.
Educational. Book report by [redacted]. Negroes on the March.
Dues.
Old Buisness.
[redacted] reported that he had met with the third camp com. and told them that we were contemplating a joint May Day celebration with the Socialist Party.

"He reported that he recieved a very chilly reception from WALKER and [redacted] at this news as they felt they had as much claim on May Day as any Socialist Groupe.

"[redacted] asked why WALKER and [redacted] should feel that way. Its seems to me she added that this is a petty childish additude for them to take.

"[redacted] explained that their attitude was understandable when you consider that the Pacifist have such a modest area to work in and since their association with us they have been able to increase the area in which to push their ideas.

"After all he continued, with all their queer ideas on pacifism and their aversion to violence they are Socialist and they feel they have as much of a claim on May Day as we do.

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"[redacted]s proposals. [redacted] then stated that the branch had discussed part of [redacted]s proposals at the last meeting and that their was still severals points to discuss.

"He stated that [redacted]s proposal on unity was ideal but he didnt understand what [redacted] meant by his statement that he was opposed to the slogan that those who stayed in a party after being defeated on a political question were accused of political capitulation.

"[redacted] explained that when he had deplored party splits in the past where faction developed and ingaged in factional fights the loosers were either expelled or broke away from the original party. In discussing his opinion in this matter with other members of Radical Socialist organization he had been told this was a necessary result as any other course would be political capitulation.

"DAVIDSON asked [redacted] if he felt that the I.S.L. would take this view of a dissent faction?

"[redacted] said he was not referring to the I.S.L. in this instance, pointing out that when he had joind the I.S.L. he had put the same opinion to DAVIDSON. And that DAVIDSON had assured him that the I.S.L. was an all inclusive party which could live with all shades of opinion.

"But the whole history of the Socialist and Radical Movement bears out his opinion. Did not the S.P. split up several times itself on the issues of factional fights.

"Did not these splits break up into smaller segements?

"This, he stated is what he wants to protect the I.S.L. against in any unity move with any groupe.

"DAVIDSON stated that this cant happen in the Socialist Party to day and he went into great lengths to explain why it cant happen.

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"[redacted] stated that she did not see why we should be concerned with such a question as the S.P. wanted us as members, they know us and what we stand for, therefore its up to them to raise the question as to what we will be permitted to do.

"[redacted] pointed out that this was not the case. The S.P. was not seeking unity with us. We were seeking unity with them. At the present time therefore all this buisness is purely academic and by the time the convention rolls around the whole idea of unity might be down the drain.

"DAVIDSON challanged this statement. He said the originial move for unity came from a groupe with in the S.P. and for that reason the I.S.L. was considering unity.

"[redacted] agreed that the original move came from within the S.P. but from a minority groupe within the S.P. he pointed out that at the last S.P.-S.D.F. convention unity with the I.S.L. was voted down. Further more he stated that both the I.S.L. majority and minority leaders had stated that while SCHACTMANN would not discuss unity with any member of the S.P. lower than a 'Major,' the leading comrads of the S.P. refused to discuss unity with him. This last statement brought a howl of protest from [redacted] and DAVIDSON. They denied that the two speaker had stated such a idea.

"[redacted] pointed out further that while it was true the move for unity came from a minority within the S.P. it was a large minority a bout 30% of the S.P. membership.

"[redacted] retorted that it was curious that he could sit in the same room and listen to the same speeches that the rest of the members had and still be so far apart in his understanding from theirs.

"[redacted] said that it was quite true that what was said at that meeting was more in line with what [redacted] said

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"chiefly because what was said at that meeting was more or less what the I.S.L. wanted released to the public. But it was the talks in private both before and after the meeting, when he, DAVIDSON and [redacted] had been alone with the speakers that these things were more freely discussed.

"At this point [redacted] said that he had been informed by [redacted] that NORMAN THOMAS had had a change of heart on the question of Unity with the I.S.L.

"He is supposed to have stated that he believes that the I.S.L. truly belongs in the S.P.-S.D.F. and he is going to propose at the next National Exec. Com. that the S.P. S.D.F. and the I.S.L. Unite.

"[redacted] then turned to the questions raised by [redacted] on where the party stands on the issue of war.

"[redacted] stated that there is a vast difference between the point of view on war held by the pacifist and ourselves even though we are members of the same groupe, the Third Camp.

"[redacted] stated that the pacifist are opposed to all wars, regardless of cause.
While we, on the other, base our support or opposition to wars, on the causes or purpose of the war.

"[redacted] stated that this is a point we must fully explain, just what wars are we opposed to and what wars we will support.

"He followed by pointing out there were many instances that he could think of where we would not only support a war and even fight in it ourselves.

"[redacted] said that he felt that this was a valid point and suggested that we schedule a meeting with the pacifist and fully discuss fully our position on war and let them discuss theirs.

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"He then asked [redacted] if he felt there was any other point in his program he would like more fully discussed.

"[redacted] said he thought that the proposition put forth by DAVIDSON that Unity must come before regroupment should be a subject for an educational. This was agreed to.

"Universalist Church Forum. [redacted] congratulated DAVIDSON on his handeling of the C.P. and [redacted] and [redacted] for their part in showing up the fraud in the C.P. position by their questions from the floor.

"Fund Drive - [redacted] reported that we will not make our quoto of $200.00 but will reach $150.00.

"[redacted] reported that [redacted] had pledge $25.00, paid $15.00 on the pledge and $10.00 dues. He suggested that the entire $25.00 be put in the fund drive and wait for the other $10.00 an apply it to [redacted]'s dues. [redacted] pledged $5.00.

"New Buisness. [redacted] announced that he had a folder of preconvention bulletens for the members which cost 15¢. These bulletins will be discussed at the next meeting.

"[redacted] called for a public meeting in June. he suggested SCHACTMANN be invited to speak on Unity. [redacted] and [redacted] agreed to a meeting but objected to the topic. Matter tabled till next meeting.

"Dues. Dues were paid by JOE [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted]. [redacted] said he would pay his dues and his pledge at the next meeting.

"Educational. [redacted] gave a review of a book by a French Author called Negroes on the March.

"The discussion that followed was favorable toward the main points raised by the author."

It is noted that Informant refers to [redacted] as [redacted].

PH 100-7121

Copies of this memo are being furnished to New York for information on unity matter.

pmc 5/21/57

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC (100-7121) 5/14/57

FROM: SA MARION B. HUMMEL

SUBJECT: ISL
IS - ISL

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On 5/3/57 [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, personally provided a written report to SA MARION B. HUMMEL. This report is maintained in [redacted], and reads as follows:

Socialist Party I 100-49738

S.D.I. I 100-21059 Social Democratic Federation

4 - New York (Registered Mail)
1 - 100- (ISL)
1 - 100- (SP-SDF)
1 - 100- [redacted]
1 - 100- [redacted]

8 - Philadelphia
1 - 100-7121
1 - 100-42651 (CPUSA-ATTEMPTS TO FORM A BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION)
1 - 100-42950 (FEDERATED SOCIALIST YOUTH OF PHILA.)
1 - 100-15348 (SP)
1 - 100-41694 (THIRD CAMP)
1 - 100-12881 (HANS PETERS)
1 - 100-42297 [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

MBH:MML
(12) mml

INDEXED: [redacted]

Searched ___ Indexed ___
Serialized ___ Filed ___
5/14/57
FBI Philadelphia
NSH

100-49738-141

SEARCHED ___ INDEXED ___
SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
MAY 15 1957
FBI — NEW YORK

Cons 6/13/57 MB

PH 100-7121

"MAY DAY for a Democratic Socialist World

May 1, 1957 at Roberts Hall, 205 S. 13th St., Phila., Pa.

Participating Organisations: Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, DAVID MC REYNOLDS, speaker

Independent Socialist League. HERMAN BENSON, speaker

Federated Socialist Youth of Phila. No speaker

Phila. Third Camp Contact Comm. CHARLES WALKER, speaker

"HANS"PETERS, Chairman; In celebrating May Day 1957 we recall the May Day celebrations which have been held in Europe in days gone by. May Day was the symbol of the workers - it meant the coming of freedom and plenty after the dark, cold days of winter and a chance for more abundant living. It stood for the solidarity of the working people everywhere. May Day, 1957, for us here ought to mean a renewing of faith and the finding of a basis for closer understanding among workers in all parts of the world; we must have a program for freedom. Even in this country where the bulk of the people have an income which enables them to live decently, we socialists have a message and are needed. For as long as injustice prevails and one man can profit from the labor of another, we come with our message of justice and liberty. Even in good times we can impress on the workers that under the basic injustice of the capitalistic system good times will be followed by another depression; they will face either depression or another war. May Day is a good time to make a start and to tell the people about socialism.

"CHARLES WALKER: May Day is a great day of solidarity among the workers of the world and a time for celebrating the aspirations of the working classes. Someone has said that a socialist is a communist who lacks the courage of his convictions. If the socialists and communists are brothers, it is as Cain and Abel. Much will have to happen to communists before there can be democratic solidarity with those behind the Iron Curtain. May Day is a time for loyalty parades and in Moscow they have a huge military parade and no cameras are allowed; it is a matter of toeing the line in both of the great camps of East and West. Socialist solidarity is rather with

"those who struggle for freedom in Hungary, East Germany, Cyprus, North Africa. In any case we must resist the huge apparatus of the State. We must overcome prejudice; in talking to someone born behind the Iron Curtain, I found it hard to look upon him as anything but evil; so we must learn that human beings are human no matter where they were born or live. I point out the importance of being able to say No to power. Originally, May Day was an anti-militaristic movement and we have today the emergence of a similar people's movement in the anti-H bomb campaigns. We have got to accept a world bristling with arms or make a flat refusal to shed blood. We can follow the Friendly Persuasion and counteract evil with good wherever we meet it. There was a time when Pope Leo walked out to extend the hand of friendship to save Rome from being sacked; but now days we don't do that sort of thing. In the new society, the workers will be free from exploitation; but hope has been destroyed because of the defeatism prevalent today. We don't teach Christian ethics to our young people now; we teach them political ideologies. These ideologies don't work in practice, and that is what made people feel their hope was betrayed by the failure of Marxism to bring in a world of real brotherhood, peace and plenty. We still have a basis for genuine hope in spite of the fact that there are men capable of doing as the Russians in Hungary, the British in Suez, etc., and we don't need to feel helpless in the face of power. The real class struggle is here; the old theories no longer apply in our present mass society; have got to break new ground. We must re-affirm the power of reason as against propaganda; there must be a real intellectual ferment and new respect for the individual.

"HERMAN BENSON, of New York; The Marxists and anti-Marxists must get together. May Day is our own socialist holiday and was defiled by military parades. The Red Army still marches, but it stands for a new anti-labor tyranny. Recent events have exposed totalitarianism as being non-socialist. The good name of socialism in the U. S. has been spoiled by Russian tyranny. This is faltering because of the real socialists behind the Iron Curtain. Myths about the 'peoples democracy' have been destroyed by the revolution in Hungary in spite of the Russian tanks and the cry that the Hungarian socialists were only Fascists. The regimes in Hungary and East Germany are now exposed for what they are. It goes to show the yearning for democracy and that revolt is possible. The revolt of the working people in 1956 and '57 has great significance

"and is on the same plane as the revolts of the workers against capitalism which began 125 years ago in France. In face of the workers mass organisation against exploitation, our movement takes on new meaning. I am just back from socialist convention where I talked to ANNA ? of Hungary and MICHAEL PISAS (?) of Cyprus. The American trade unionists are solidly with the rebelling Cypriot patriots. The struggle of the people for freedom is rising - even DULLES could be made to understand it. On April 22 he spoke of liberating the people behind the Iron Curtain and said we must keep the struggle for freedom alive all over the world and spoke of 1776. Then he turns around and supports two kings in the Near East. DULLES and the Republicans have shown a spirit of reaction in what they have done - supporting ADENAUER in Germany, CHIEN in China, SIGMAN RHEA in Korea and now the kings of Jordan and Sausi Arabia, in spite of slavery in Saudi Arabia and that no Jewish G.I.'s are allowed on our air bases in Saudi Arabia. We believe in sounding a call for freedom and we don't need King SAUDE; we need those who are willing to fight for democracy. The shot fired in Buda Pest is the modern 'shot heard round the world.' We are called to make a moral decision and to give ourselves to the advance of socialism around the world. Here we must bring democratic socialism to new thousands of people.

"HANS PETERS; Democracy (not the DULLES version) is hard to define; but it brings duties as well as privileges, and this applies to labor unions as well as individuals. The duty to work for the good of the whole; to speak up for democracy always; to speak against injustice and discrimination; to join with others dedicated to democracy. There is no such thing as an individual thinker - all effective thinking is collective. Another duty is to contribute funds. (A collection taken amounting to over $21)

"DAVID MAC REYNOLDS of New York;

I am not old enough to talk about the 'old days but I know that socialism was at one time a larger and more important movement and this group here may be a seed of the new movement. There is no real socialist movement today; but do not be too depressed because what we believe in has always been in the hearts and minds of men. We have got to _____ re are in America and this is 1957. The socialist movement we are interested in will be different from others when it is applied and it will not be applied

"as it has elsewhere and in other times. In the past there was a lot of European influence in American socialism; we can't talk here about the proletariat and the bourgeois and we must answer the questions the workers have now. We believe our doctrines are sound, but they must not be imposed upon the American workers. Socialists must speak truth to themselves and to others. The essence of Marxism is very scientific and must be so applied, but the important thing about Marxism is not the dogma but what it implies. I believe in Marxism, the thing in it which leads men to face a firing squad for it. But remember that this is not Germany and we must examine the American situation on its own merits. We are not going to re-establish anything; we must do something new. Learn from the past but don't get involved in it; in the fights of 20 years ago- we are in 1957. We want to know who today believes in democratic socialism and is prepared to atand up for it. We must make a clear break with the communist party. This is a huge country and we must find out what the real problems are. What are the methods of social change? Can it be brought about without violence? What is the role of the State, per se? Re-read the writings of the anarchists. Can you apply the methods of Montgomery and India here? The methods of GANDHI may not apply here. To kindle hope of a democratic socialist society we must have a program FOR not AGAINST. MARX taught that the good society was inevitable. Strength must be founded on pacifism; hatred is a weak foundation on which to found a socialist society. But we must understand that hatred is common to all men, but learn to hate the system- not people. The capitalist suffers as much from his system as do his victims. Hatred of communism has driven many socialists into capitalism. With the collapse of the communist party in this country has come revived interest in socialism. When a year ago I sat down with a communist I could not talk to him because I could only see the evils of communism in him. Think in terms of the American scene unburdened by the past. Keep your eyes on the future.

"PETERS then led the assembly of about 27 people in song."

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-129859) (7-2) DATE: 5/15/57

FROM : SA PATRICK W. HIGGINS (12-15)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST UNITY FORUM
IS-SUA

Source [redacted] (Panel Source)

Reliability Who has furnished reliable information in the past

2-Chicago (105-17506) (SIDNEY LENS)
(1-100-3322) (HARVEY O'CONNOR)
2-Albany (100-12145) ([redacted])
(1-100-) ([redacted])
1-NY ([redacted]) (P & C) (12-15)
1-NY (100-116907) (American Socialist)
1-NY (100-) (American Socialist Forum)
1-NY (100-103390) ([redacted]) (12-15)
1-NY (100-130507) (Attempts of CP, USA to form broad Socialist Organization) (19)
1-NY (100-19358) (MAX BEDACHT)
1-NY (100-86782) ([redacted]) (7-3)
1-NY (100-55254) ([redacted]) (7-6)
1-NY (100-60312) ([redacted]) (7-3)
1-NY (100-83920) (Cominfil, Americans For Democratic Action)
1-NY (100-94031) (Cominfil, Educational Field)
1-NY (100-7629) (Cominfil, National Association Advancement Colored Peoples)
1-NY (100-) (FNU) ([redacted], former member of ALP)
1-NY (100-93572) ("National Guradian") (7-2)
1-NY (100-97470) (Independent Socialist League) (7-3)
1-NY (105-1246) (SIDNEY LENS)
1-NY (100-99371) ([redacted])
1-NY (100-25783) ([redacted]) (20-11)
1-NY (100-82193) ([redacted]) (20-11)
1-NY (100-20802) (A.J. Muste) (7-2)
1-NY (105-20404) (The Nation)
1-NY (100-128815) (Negro Question, CP District # 2)

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(38)

100-49738-142

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
MAY 16 1957
FBI — NEW YORK

73

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MEMO
NY 100-129859

Activity 4/27/57

Date Received 4/29/57

Received by SA PATRICK W. HIGGINS

Location [redacted]

Verbatim copy of informant's report follows:

Meeting: Committee for Socialist Unity
Subject: Socialist Unity Program and Plans
Date: April 27, 1957
Time: 11:00 AM-1:15 PM and 2:30 PM -5:00 PM
Place: Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. (14th St.), 11th Floor

Present: Morning Session - Total of 23 people, including 21 men and 2 women. Men included [redacted],

COPIES CONTINUED
1-NY (100-16577) (HARVEY O'CONNOR)
1-NY (100-49738) (Socialist Party)
1-NY (100-97078) (Socialist Workers Party) (7-3)
1-NY (100-13480) ([redacted]) (12-14)
1-NY (100-) (FNU) ([redacted])
1-NY (100-85746) ([redacted])
1-NY (100-128804) (Youth Matters, CP District # 2)
1-NY (100-61928) ([redacted]) (7-3)
1-NY (100-) ([redacted]
1-NY (100-) ([redacted]
1-NY (100-) ([redacted])

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chairman; [redacted], vice-chairman; [redacted], secretary; [redacted], [redacted], Max Badat (spelling?), Harvey O'Connor of Chicago, [redacted] LNU of the Nassau County local of the Socialist Party (representing "only himself"), [redacted] (spelling?), FNU [redacted] (or unsub)-- [redacted], [redacted] of the Guardian, [redacted] LNU and [redacted] LNU of the Committee for Socialist Unity (the former has [redacted]; the latter lives in [redacted] near the city, wears [redacted], [redacted] of the faculty of [redacted] in Vermont. One woman was [redacted], who is probably [redacted] [redacted]'s wife ([redacted]). Other men and woman were unsub, though most are regular members of Committee for Socialist Unity. Afternoon Session-Same as above, minus Badat, [redacted], and [redacted], plus [redacted], representative of Local 17, upstate N.Y., of the International Hod Carriers. Also woman who was probably [redacted]. Also one unsub from Socialist Unity group.

Meeting was conducted in a meeting room which comfortably held a T-shaped table arrangement for about 20 people. Others sat in chairs along wall. Group averaged in low 40's, with a few older and a few younger.

[redacted] conducted the meeting and sat at the head of the main table. [redacted] was on his right, [redacted] on his left. [redacted] opened the meeting, reviewed the reason for the

meeting (stated briefly above), explained the alignment of various left-wing groups (i.e. the lack of cooperation of the Socialist Party, the Schactman group, etc. This has been outlined in previous reports of meetings of the Committee.). He then explained that there now seemed to be four possible paths for Socialists to take. One of them was "going back to the Communist Party", he said. Then he revised this to "going to the Communist Party". [redacted] laughingly described this as a "Marxian slip". [redacted]'s remarks were preceded by distribution of a provisional program for the Committee for Socialist Unity (attached) and comments from various individuals who had been asked to participate in this meeting (also attached). b6 b7C

[redacted] then read a prepared paper which was designed to spell out his impression of the general function of a unified Socialist group. (This is not the same as the program attached.) He said that some of it everyone would think was obvious, some of it would meet with disagreement. This paper broadly outlined the need for a unified approach, expressed the opinion that there was real need for such unity. Helpful to have a common ground, he said.

Harvey O'Connor then reported on the situation in Chicago. He said it was not as well organized as New York in terms of left wing activity, but mentioned that a meeting was recently held at which members of several Socialist groups were represented. As a result, about 200 people turned out instead of the usual 50 for the regular Eugene V. Debs Forum, of which he is the leader. Personally, O'Connor felt the large meeting was a fiasco because all the different groups took the opportunity to argue publicly with one another. However, O'Connor said, he was the only one who thought that the meeting was a failure and a disgrace, and everyone else connected with it seemed to think that it had

been a great success. He mentioned that another large meeting had been in the works under the aegis of A.J. Muste and Sidney Lenz (the latter of Chicago), with the purpose of bringing many Socialist groups together. (Throughtout this 4/27 meeting, "Socialist groups" usually included the Communist Party.) However, someone (or both Muste and Lenz) felt that such a meeting required the support of old, reliable Chicago personalities whose reputations were impeccable. As O'Connor said, this caused unsurmountable problems, and the meeting had not yet come about-- and was not in the offing.

[redacted] LNU explained that he was representing himself and not, unfortunately, the Socialist Party, which he and others criticized in the course of this meeting. He explained that he and a few others were considered "left wing Socialists" by the majority of the Socialist Party, especially the New York City and national committee--so much so that he said that he and a few others might be expelled from the Socialist Party one of these days. He explained that of the 18 members of the national Socialist Party ruling committee, about 16 were "right wing Socialists", which hampered any kind of official progressive action by the Socialists. [redacted] LNU appears to be in early [redacted]'s, has thinning, solf, light brown hair, is slight and medium height.

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[redacted] then agreed with an earlier [redacted] claim that the success of capitalism in this country at this particular time wasn't very helpful to the success of Socialist progress. He felt, however, that the Socialist cause had a great chance of success if it placed all its efforts against the "peace" question, which he claimed is now a burning issue with the nation as a whole. He felt that many issues could be tied to the "peace" question--high taxes, war hysteria, troops on foreign soil, etc.

Max Badat, an elderly man with a hearing aid, then announced, "I am a Socialist, I am a Communist", before explaining that he is no longer active with any group. He said that he had spent most of his life fighting the disillusionment of causes which were never adopted, but that this was part of the cross that had to be borne by people who wanted to advance the Socialist cause. His message was to keep fighting.

[redacted], who had been asked to speak by the chairman after [redacted] spoke, but who demurred until he had heard some of the visitors, now spoke. He said that unification was important because neither the Socialist Unity group or any other radical group could "supply the shock troops, so to speak" when "the time comes."

[redacted] then mentioned that he had broken with the Communist Party, of which he had been a member, about 8 or 9 months ago, and has spent the time since then lecturing and debating in various parts of the city and country. He expressed doubt that the large numbers of people who recently broke with the Communist Party or who have been on the fringe of the CP would impulsively join a new unity group when they had just been disillusioned by the CP, which had held so much hope for them for advancement of Socialist goals.

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[redacted] of the Guardian defended his paper's policy of not being the mouthpiece for any particular group in order to remain the voice of progressives. ([redacted] is very careful to say "progressives" and not "left" or "radicals".) He noted that about two years ago the Guardian had been used as the rallying point for unified Socialism, but that all the progressive groups and the Communist Party had been suspicious and uncooperative

so that the effort failed. He left the impression that "once burned, now I must be shown the success of this new attempt at socialist unity." Guardian has 35,000 readers now, [redacted] said.

[redacted] remarked that "local" issues were not enough. By "local", he meant the "peace" issue, taxation, civil rights, some fairly big points. He felt that a definite socialist platform was necessary, by which he was probably referring to the kind of platform outlined in the distributed document. He had arrived late, and later said that he may have misinterpreted the purpose of the meeting in making his first comments. He got in the swing later by saying that the H-bomb was a wonderful issue which could be used to agitate the mothers of America particularly. When [redacted] remarked that the H-bomb worried him too, and forget about just the mothers, [redacted] repeated that he thought mothers were particularly susceptible to this kind of campaign. There was an impression that the majority of people present regretted [redacted]'s insistence on the propoganda technique, at least expressed so basically and naiively. [redacted] also felt that organization was of key importance, and that we must be prepared for the day when all of a sudden the opportunity presents itself to make use of this organization effectively.

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The forthcoming May Day rally was discussed, and it was generally bemoaned that it was sodifficult, if not impossible, to get Negro and labor groups to cooperate with the Socialist movement. For instance, the NAACP refused an invitation to send a representative to the rally. Also, one of the dissident Socialist groups (Socialist Party or Schactman group) asked, when advised that the Communist Party was to be represented, "Will the White Citizens League also be invited?" (a cynical question, of course).

[redacted] stated that the Socialist Unity group was not the only one working for Socialist unity. He showed a letter signed by five ex-American Labor Party members (including FNU [redacted]) which also expressed interest in unifying the Socialist movement. Previously, about the time that [redacted] spoke, it had been mentioned that most of the Socialist Unity Committee nucleus had been connected through the Socialist Workers Party. Then they had gathered around the publication, "American Socialist", but this hadn't been satisfactory either. (This is presented in the way of background.)

During the early part of this meeting, a list was circulated on which all present were asked to write their names and addresses. When the meeting adjourned for lunch, many of those present gathered in the lunch room next to Adelphi Hall. The writer left the group in order to record the morning's proceedings. b6 b7C

The afternoon session began with a continuation of general platform proposals. Heard from first was [redacted], from [redacted] in Vermont. He explained that he felt the young were particularly susceptible to socialist training if presented correctly, and claimed that his average number of converts at the college each year is in the neighborhood of 20%, many of whom were actually anti-socialist when they first arrived at college. He expressed interest in the project of unifying socialists, as did most or all of those present, but he was fairly noncommital about whether or not he would lend his name to any efforts in this direction. He claimed that he had to consult with "a group of friends" in his area with whom he usually made decisions of this kind.

Having completed the first objective of this meeting, which was to air the views of as many independent

socialists as possible about the proposed unification of socialist groups, the second part now began. This part was designed to focus on ways and means of accomplishing this unification, once the end-result had been agreed to.

O'Connor stated that he objected violently to the assumption that this is not a propitious time for socialism's growth. He said that several tremendous areas for socialist exploitation exist, including the high taxes which are made necessary in order to support war hysteria; "national idiocy", the result of TV, comic books, and poor schools which keep many adults at a mental childhood age all their lives; unemployment, of which there is still an abundant amount, despite government propaganda to the contrary. People are not satisfied with capitalism, O'Connor said, and it is wrong to think they are. Instead of having a defeatist complex about the current state of the country's prosperity, etc., he said, socialists should aggressively exploit the serious and controversial flaws in the present picture. O'Connor also felt that there was too much talk at this meeting about bringing back into the socialist picture people who had left because of previous disillusionment. He claimed that this had not worked with the disillusioned socialists of the 20's when the early 1930's arrived, and it would not be true again, he said. Young blood would supply the new life in the socialist cause, not reincarnated lives. He implied that he would allow his name to be used on a Socialist Unity news letter, if this was a result of this meeting, though he gave no firm commitment.

After O'Connor finished explaining all the controversial issues which can be exploited, [redacted] asked, "How?" All the ensuing conversation revolved about this question, and the solutions advanced were all related to the possibility of publishing a news letter which would be distributed to a national mailing list of known socialists and sympathizers; or producing pamphlents on particularly

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pertinent issues from time to time; or the publishing of a magazine; or a combination of the first two posibilities. The latter possibility seemed to win the day in the course of the discussion, though no ways of implementing this decision were discussed in anything but the vaguest terms. A key part of this discussion was the tone which these new publications should take: Should they be directed at socialists, and organized ones at that; or should they be such that they would interest the proletariat? And should efforts be made to have such articles printed in the general press, where there might have to be some compromise in order to have them published, or should small circulation with unlimited freedom of sentiment be preferred? During this discussion, all the Socialist press came in for a certain amount of criticism, especially the one that most Socialist articles are padded in order to fill white space. Also, that the general quality of socialist writing is poor, and that material is sparse. [redacted] disclosed that a 5000-word essay of his is due for publication in "The Nation" within the next week or two. The upshot of this discussion was that a news letter will be published and distributed to key Socialist figures throught the country, the idea being to encourage small groups of Socialists to meet (because it was generally agreed that having many large gatherings is very difficult at this time) with a feeling that they knew what the Socialist picture was all over the country. These groups would contribute, as well as receive, information which eventually appeared in the news letter. Additionally, pamphlets on key subjects would be announced for purchase on a regular basis or depending on issues of the day, a disagreement which was unresolved.

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Another question which was discussed was how to get non-Socialist groups (workers, etc.) interested in the

movement. The trend to white-collar workers increases the task, it was pointed out. [redacted] expressed the feeling that having Communists in groups like the ADA, when they toed the ADA line in order not to be expelled, did no good at all to the Socialist movement, because the ADA continued to expound "State Dept." politics. He claimed that any organization with Socialists had to allow a Socialistic point of view or it was worth nothing. [redacted] disagreed somewhat with this point of view, felt that infiltration was good, that for the first year or two the Socialist might have to toe the line, but that little by little he should be able to accomplish some change. This discussion was then pursued no further.

[redacted] and [redacted] spoke briefly in favor of the proposed news letter distribution. [redacted] felt that the mailing should be limited to key Socialists, while there was some sentiment among others (O'Connor?) for a wide distribution. ([redacted]'s familiarity with the finances of the Socialist Unity group may have influenced his views.)

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At this point, someone asked [redacted] if there wasn't a chance that the American (Socialist) Forum (Muste's new group) might decide to proceed in the same way the Socialist Unity Committee had decided to go, i.e. put out a news bulletin. [redacted] said that the American Forum would meet the next day (April 28), and that he would not know until then, though he allowed that the possibility existed. The subject was then dropped.

When discussing the mailing list for the news letter, someone mentioned that [redacted], who was not present in the afternoon, had gone to Newark, where he was going

to get others interested in plans that were being made for socialist unity. The possibility of forums in Newark was mentioned, and it was said that [redacted] has the names of 25 potential supporters in Newark.

[redacted] then spoke. He harangued the group, told how he did all he could for his flock of workers "in his own humble way". Mentioned that he had known Debs, a few other labor notables, in his youth. (He appears to be about [redacted], tall, in good shape.) He said that education was the important thing, that maybe a comic strip depicting socialist lore could be distributed through labor leaders to the masses. (O'Connor, against "national idiocy", gulped.) Then he harangued some more, told how he would be elected to his union post once, then thrown out because he was accused of having Communist leanings, then be elected again because the men realized that they weren't getting the same kind of attention from the new man, and then the same thing would repeat. He said that it was evident to him that if socialism was going to succeed, it was going to be influenced from outside the country, not within. He cited a large unemployment problem in upstate N.Y., and criticized labor, the government, and almost everyone for a solution he had had for spreading the work over a longer period to avoid unemployment and poverty. He was down on almost everyone but himself, and by the time his monologue was finished, the entire meeting was fairly exhausted. [redacted] announced it was over with the words that [redacted] had summarized everyone's feelings very well.

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There were still about 15 people in the room when the writer left. However, there was no party at [redacted]'s apartment in the evening, as originally announced, because none of the guests had been forewarned that the invitation would be forthcoming. A show of hands revealed that only about 3 members of the Socialist Unity Committee intended to attend, and the party was thereby cancelled.

Report Written by: [redacted]

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3/29

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK ( ) DATE: MAR 26 1957

FROM: SA [redacted], 7-2

SUBJECT: [redacted]

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SM-C

The photograph of subject's name and address appearing above was taken 3/5/57 by SAs JOHN T. MURPHY, LEON F. SCHWARTZ and [redacted], and photographer [redacted] from a list of names furnished by Assistant Inspector in Charge [redacted], USPO, 8th Avenue and 33rd Street, NYC. Inspector [redacted] advised the list was furnished him by Publishers New Press, Inc., as representing the subscribers to the "Daily Worker" and "The Worker". The "Daily Worker" and its Sunday edition "The Worker" is an east coast Communist newspaper. The photographic negatives obtained are filed as an exhibit in NY 97-169-1A2016.

The source and technique utilized in obtaining this information must be concealed if used in any report.

Explanation of the symbols appearing under the subject's name and address appears on the reverse side of this memorandum, and was furnished on 3/25/54 by former CSNY 426-S, then in a position to furnish reliable information, to SA EVERETT K. DEANE and SE [redacted]. It is filed as an exhibit in 97-169.

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GSA:RML

100-49738-143

File Reviewers
Review CFs and Refs.
#73
3/29

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
MAR 26 1957
FBI - NEW YORK

Indices Search Slip
FD-160 (7-20-55)

TO: CHIEF CLERK

Date

Subject: The Fall

Aliases

Address | Birth Date | Birthplace

- [ ] Exact Spelling
- [ ] All References
- [ ] Main Subversive Case Files Only
- [ ] Subversive References Only
- [ ] Main Criminal Case Files Only
- [ ] Criminal References Only
- [ ] Main Subversive (If no Main, list all Subv. References)
- [ ] Main Criminal (If no Main, list all Crim. References)
- [ ] Restrict to Locality of

File & Serial Number	Remarks	File & Serial Number	Remarks
303 4th	Ave Nyc		
Ident	see SS No - 49738-91		
dtd 10/25/56	att #1		
65-7586-1249	p134		
Rm 303	4th Ave Nyc		
100-48253-380			
303 Fourth	Ave Nyc		
65-12951-6	p14		
5471 }	acd cdo		
16535 }			
97-169-3040	DW 5/16/51		
100-58657-157	p82		

Requested by | Squad | Extension | File No.

Searched by [signature] 4/1/57 (date)

Consolidated by (date)

Reviewed by (date)

- [ ] Identical
- [ ] Not Identical
- [ ] Not identifiable

Att #1 to 100-49738-143

mts

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: Director, FBI (100-86590) 6/14/57

FROM: SAC, Philadelphia (100-7121)

SUBJECT: INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE
IS - ISL
(OO - NY)

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On 5/31/57 [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information to SA JOHN F. PHELAN, Jr., in a report located in PH file [redacted].

The informant stated:

"MAX SSHACHTMAN is confident that if he can achieve unity with the Socialist Party - SDF, he can achieve leadership of the bulk of the former CP members under the label of the SP.

"That SHACHTMAN is sure he can gain control of the SP goes without saying for what he says of the SP-SDF is true. Compared

4 - Bureau (Registered Mail)
2 - 100-86590
2 - 100-424101 (ATTEMPTS OF CPUSA TO FORM A BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION)

4 - New York (Registered Mail) I 100-49738 *
1 - 100- (SP)
1 - 100-6680 (ISL) 100-21059 *
1 - 100-130507 (ATTEMPTS OF CPUSA TO FORM A BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION)
1 - 100- (MAX SHACHTMAN)

4 - Philadelphia
1 - 100-7121
1 - 100-15348 (SP)
1 - 100-42651 (ATTEMPTS OF CPUSA TO FORM A BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION)
1 - [redacted]

Index
P8
100-49738-144

JFP:MML
(12)

"to the membership of the ISL, the SP-SDF is composed of old, tired socialists who will not have the stamina nor energy to compete with the ISL people in running areally active political party. The task of easing the old timers out of the many jobs that must be done should be relatively easy, as these jobs take a lot of time and energy.

"This should be no problem as older people once they are convinced of the reliability of a younger one to do a job, are quite willing to save their time and energies for some personal goal.

"Once this sense of reliability has been established, the old socialist will feel less inclined to att end meetings, visit new people or take too much of an active part in the organization. This would mean that the ISL members carrying most of the party responsibilities, having closer contact with the new members, would very soon be the dominating factor in the united party.

"Once they reach the position they can open the ranks of the SP to anyone including the CP. Then it will be a very simple matter to convert the SP from a position of an evolutionary or parliamentary socialist organization into a revolutionary socialist party.

"If SHACHTMAN's evaluation of the position of the SP on the American scene is correct, and he succeeds in achieving unity, with the help of the old CP apparatus, his plan of building a mass political party is a real possibility.

"SHACHTMAN first mentioned unity with the SP at a youth conference in August 1956. At that time, he had no real desire, said if the SP wanted to discuss it he was willing."

The informant then stated that he did not think regroupment and social unity "is SHACHTMAN's own idea." He suspected from the content of Socialist Unity Resolution #1, dated October 22, 1956; Resolution #2, dated December 24, 1956, and the Majority Report, dated February 2, 1957, plus SHACHTMAN's report to Philadelphia ISL members on 5/26/57, that JOHN GATES and ALBERT BLUMBERG, of the CP, may have planted the seed in SHACHTMAN concerning regroupment.

The informant also noted that SHACHTMAN had stated that the ISL need not agree in theory with the CP, SWP, the SLP or SP, but with the task

before them they could no lon ger afford the luxury of being pure Marxists, Leninists, Trotskyites or any other theoretical purists.

SHACHTMAN said on 5/26/57 that he was not a purist but a politician who "sees the task of building a political party.

The above is being furnished to the Bureau for information in view of coming ISL convention in New York in July 1957. The detailed report of the meeting in Philadelphia at which SHACHTMAN spoke will be furnished to New York for information.

O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-17375) DATE: 6/12/57

FROM : SA [redacted]

SUBJECT: LOS ANGELES LOCAL - SOCIALIST
WORKERS PARTY (LAL-SWP)
IS-SWP

[redacted]

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100-32438 ([redacted])
100-43269 ([redacted])
100-30984 (LABOR YOUTH LEAGUE)
100-44714 ([redacted])
100-30389 ([redacted])
100-49365 ([redacted])
100-43201 ([redacted])
100-48285 ([redacted])
100-23847 ([redacted])
100-30278 ([redacted])
100-31033 ([redacted])
100-54306 ([redacted])

26 - New York (REGISTERED)
(SWP, NY 100-4013) ([redacted])
(FARRELL DOBBS, NY 100-7388) ([redacted])
(MAX SHACHTMAN) ([redacted])
(NORMAN THOMAS)
([redacted])
([redacted])
([redacted], NY 100-60264)
([redacted], NY 100-59096)
([redacted])
([redacted], NY 100-59476)
([redacted])
([redacted], NY 100-26400)
([redacted])
([redacted])
([redacted], NY 100-80679)
(AMERICAN FORUM FOR SOCIALIST EDUCATION, NY 100-131940)
(A. J. MUSTE)
(SOCIALIST PARTY - SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION)
(INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE)
(SOCIALIST UNION OF AMERICA)
(COMMUNIST PARTY)
(YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE)

100-49738-144A

SEARCHED ___ INDEXED ___
SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
JUN 22 1957
FBI — NEW YORK

Read by

Searched ___ Indexed ___
Serialized ___ Filed ___
JUNE 12, 1957
FBI-LOS ANGELES

ILRI:srb
(71)

Copies continued next page

LA 100-17375

2 - Chicago (REGISTERED)
(SWP, 65-645)
([redacted])

3 - Detroit (REGISTERED)
(SWP, D.E. 100-1334)
([redacted], D.E. 100-17163)
([redacted], D.E. 100-23622)

4 - San Francisco (REGISTERED)
(SWP, S.F. 61-380)
([redacted], S.F. 105-447)
([redacted], S.F. 100-28879)
([redacted], S.F. 100-26202)

3 - Seattle (REGISTERED)
(SWP, S.E. 100-3864)
([redacted])
([redacted])

3 - Boston (REGISTERED)
(SWP, 100-442)
([redacted])
(CP)

5 - Cleveland (REGISTERED)
(SWP, 100-1012)
(CP)
(INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER)
([redacted])

4 - Minneapolis (REGISTERED)
(SWP, 100-1246)
([redacted])
([redacted])
([redacted])

3 - Buffalo (REGISTERED)
(SWP, BU. 100-6516)
([redacted])
(SAM MARCY)

2 - Philadelphia (REGISTERED)
(SWP, Ph. 100-2036)
([redacted], Ph. 100-41152)

2 - Newark (REGISTERED)
(SWP, Ne. 100-1191)
(MAX GELDMAN, Ne. 100-31559

b6
b7C

LA 100-17375

Source	Activity	Rec'd	Agent	Location
[redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, and whose identity should be concealed.	SWP National Convention 5/31-6/2/57	6/7/57	SA [redacted]	[redacted]

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On 6/7/57 [redacted] furnished the writer with a handwritten report dated 6/6/57, which report concerned the SWP National Convention, held at Werderman's Hall, 160 Third Avenue, New York City, 5/31 - 6/2/57. Instant report of [redacted] covers the events occurring at the Convention from the period Saturday (June 1, 1957) and Sunday (June 2, 1957). The report of [redacted] read as follows:

"S.W.P. 17th NATIONAL CONVENTION

"Jun. 6, 1957

"Sat. 3 P.M. - 8. A. American Politics
- FARRELL DOBBS

"The attack on MUSTE of the American Forum for Socialist Education has clarified some of the political questions arising during the Regroupment discussions. The Socialist Party - S.D.F. has joined the 'Capitalist Red Baiters' in an attack on the forum. This clearly gives the lie to SCHACHTMAN's defense of the S.P. - S.D.F. as 'more democratic than the rest' (of the radical movement).

"Representatives of the I.S.L. are functioning there against the instructions of SCHACHTMAN, as are S.P. - S.D.F. members, though these were reduced by N. THOMAS' ultimation to 'get out of the Forum or get out of the S.P. - S.D.F.

"COCHRAN and his group remain isolated as they insist on a forum of their concept, run by them.

"The Communist Party, in its crisis, related to the 20th Congress, and recent world developements, is disillusioned, widely split on many questions and in many areas disintegrating. The GATES wing, the closest thing on a national scale to a left tendency, is losing people rapidly, as they depart for the S.W.P. or out of radical politics in utter disgust & disappointment. It is said that at many C.P. Club meetings, the first remark is often 'Have you read the Militant yet?' indicating that a large segment of the C.P. no longer considers the official C.P. press to be honest or 'newsy.'

"The charge of 'raiding,' directed at the S.W.P. by many opponents is 'ridiculous' in most cases ' these people are banging on our door, begging to be let in.'

"The convention was asked to empower the incoming N.C. to plan & execute a tremendous propaganda campaign to educate & convert all dissident elements of the radical movement, & to convert other elements who are ill-informed or un-informed of the S.W.P.'s political position.

"8. B. Report on Youth (Supplementary)
' MURRY WEISS

"Given was a rundown on the growth & developement of a split in the Y.S.L., America's largest organize group of radical youth today. WEISS told how the Y.S.L. members, many of them, are giving two-thirds of their pay to sustain national tours of their faction leaders, and that the outlook is that a spli will surely occur at their convention in June. With the left tendency inclined toward the S.W.P. this indicates a perspective for the S.W.P. of its first opportunity in years to participate in a large National youth grouping.

"It is held that, with the new outlook of accepting Y.S.L.'s position on the Russian question, till they change it, that the S.W.P. can & will cooperate with them. (It is assumed that eventually they will change (at least the left wing) because they are already supporting the 'colonial revolutions.'

"This, coupled with the planned collapse of the L.Y.L. opens new vistas & new fields of recruiting to the Party.

"(Note: prior to discussion the Convention was asked to pass on two telegrams of greeting: One, to ROSE KARSNER, very lauditory & wishing her better health. The other, to the British Trotskyists, congratulating them on their work in the recent period & expressing the S.W.P.'s solidarity with them. The second was well covered with such statements as: 'Though we belong to no international political group due to U.S. Law.'

"Discussion on the American Political Situation included many speakers.

"PETER BUSCH of L.A. told how, in the absence of other activity the L.A. youth play volley ball with I.Y.L. elements in order to gather with them, discuss develope ties.

"LARRY - of Boston told that the C.P. is all but non-existent in the New England area. That, in fact a re-registration of members was opposed on the basis that not a third of the recorded 300 would re-designate themselves as C.P. Members.

"CLYDE TURNER - of L.A. spoke to the effect that Negro work should be given more importance in the regroupment work, as this is a soft spot in the C.P. platform.

"TED DOSTAL - of Youngstown, told how their reputation there is growing in the backyard of the C.P., the I.W.O. groups. And in example of the gain being made there cited the fact that a full busload from one union local, at their instigation attended the March on Washington.

"Another individual, male, cited voluminous statistics to show that American capitalism is really on the brink of an economic catastrophe & the dollar hungry allied nations along with it.

"This session was adjourned at 7. P.M.

"At 8: PM panels on youth, trade unions, and literature were held at halls on the 10th floor of the Adelphi Bldg. 74 5th Ave.

"The nominating commission held a long session at the same time at 116 University Pl.

"At 9: P.M. a social was held at 116 University Pl. which concluded at approx. 2 A.M.

"

Sun. 10 A.M. 9. Organization Report -
- TOM KERRY

"The gist of which was that:

"A. Though good personnel are in demand in all locals, the N.O. will attempt to meet all requests possible for 'reinforcements' where needed.

"B. The Party's deficit, per month, is now running close to $3,000. which will nescessitate a fund drive, probably in September.

"C. Local payments to the National sustaining fund are in arrears approx. $2000.00. Payments also are lower than the real potential of each local, especially in New York. It should be a goal of each local to double its sustaining payment to the N.O., especially in view of the tasks ahead.

"D. Also in arrears & owing are many literature accounts. It should be the business of all Branches to see that these accounts are closed & that hereafter, all literature orders be paid for within 30 days of their filling. This would facilitate the payments for printing, etc. & enable any surplus funds to be used immediately for publication of pamphlets, etc.

"Discussion included, among others:

"MYRA T. WEISS, who spoke to the effect that the Party has successfully developed its cadres in the past period & is continuing to do so, even in the rush of activity.

"CARL FEINGOLD cited the increase in L.A.'s actual membership in the past year of 15 persons, seven of whom came from the C.P.

"TOM KERRY in additional remarks, stated that for every person lost in the last year the Party gained two.

"10. Elections - The Nominating Commission submitted & suggested the following slate for the N.C. The slate was accepted.

"FARREL DOBBS	J.P. CANNON	V.R. DUNN
SAM MARCY	JEAN SIMON	MILT GENECIN
ARNE SWABECK	MYRA T. WEISS	BOB CHESTER
JOE HANSEN	MURRAY WEISS	HENRY SHULTZ
TED DOSTAL	FRANK GRAHAM	DOROTHY "
MAURICE STEIN	DAN ROBERTS	TOM KERRY
WM. F. WARD	HOWARD MAYHEW	GEO. BREITMAN
ART PREIS		

"CONTROL COMMISSION -

"ROSE KARSNER	REBA HANSEN (AUBREY)
ANN CHESTER	DUNCAN FERGUSON

"ALTERNATE NATIONAL CIMMITTEE MEMBERS

FRANK BARBARIA	DICK LOPEZ
DICK FRASER	MAX GELDMAN
JOYCE COWLEY	FRANCIS NICKLES
CARL FEINGOLD	HARRY RING
ART FOX	ASHER
CLARA KRASNOWSKY	& 4
DOROTHY MARCY	
ANN CHESTER	
DAVE WEISS	
HANSEN	
RONALD JONES	

"Above is submitted from memory and is as accurate as possible. However, there is no discrepancy in reported names, only in those not remembered.

"Security regulations of convention & close quarters prohibited any notes on the election."

INformant advised he is currently preparing a report setting forth individuals in attendance at instant Convention, which report will be submitted to the Los Angeles Office immediately upon completion. Dissemination of this report will be immediately made by the Los Angeles Office upon receipt of same.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC (100-7121) 6/17/57

FROM: SA JOHN F. PHELAN, Jr.

SUBJECT: ISL
IS-ISL

On 5/31/57 [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, personally provided a written report to SA JOHN F. PHELAN, Jr. This report is maintained in [redacted], and reads as follows: b2 b7D

1 - Detroit (Registered Mail)
1 - 100-9025 (ISL)

1 - Chicago (Registered Mail)
1 - 100-1840 (ISL)

1 - Los Angeles (Registered Mail)
1 - 100-3476 (ISL)

1 - Pittsburgh (Registered Mail)
1 - 100-5567 (ISL)

1 - San Francisco (Registered Mail)
1 - 100-2397 (ISL)

9 - New York (Registered Mail)
1 - 100- [redacted]
1 - 100- (MAX SHACHTMAN)
1 - 100- [redacted]
1 - 100- [redacted]
1 - 100- (ISL)
1 - 100- (SOCIALIST PARTY)
1 - 100- (THIRD CAMP)
1 - 100- (SWP)
1 - 100-130507 (ATTEMPTS OF CPUSA TO FORM A BROAD SOC. ORG.)

I 100-49738*
~~NI 100-21059*~~

Indexed pg 9

Searched ___ Indexed ___
Serialized ___ Filed ___
6/17/57
FBI Philadelphia
JCB

b6 b7C

100-49738-145

SEARCHED ___ INDEXED ___
SERIALIZED dtm FILED dtm
JUN 19 1957
FBI — NEW YORK

JFP:MML
(27)

PH 100-7121

13 - Philadelphia
- 1 - 100-7121
1 - 100-32106 ([redacted])
1 - 100-28217 (JOSEPH DAVIDSON)
1 - 100-35564 ([redacted])
1 - 100-42617 ([redacted])
1 - 100-31370 ([redacted])
1 - 100-38083 ([redacted])
1 - 100-32731 ([redacted])
1 - 100-15348 (SOCIALIST PARTY)
1 - 100-41694 (THIRD CAMP)
1 - 100-2036 (SWP)
1 - 100-42651 (ATTEMPTS OF CPUSA TO FORM A BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION)
1 - [redacted]

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"MAX SCHACTMANN's POSITION ON UNITY

"Sunday May 26, 1957, MAX SCHACTMANN had dinner with the branch members of the I.S.L. and the Y.S.L. in a Chinesee Resturant at 911 Race St., Phila., Pa.

"SCHACTMANN arrived, accompanied by [redacted] from New York City about 5:30 P.M. Also present were [redacted] JOSEPH and [redacted] DAVIDSON and [redacted] of the I.S.L. [redacted] of the Y.S.L. and [redacted].

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"After dinner SCHACTMANN reported on his trip around the country where he discussed the unity with the S.P.-S.D.F.

"He reported that the majorities position on unity was received very favorably in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago and Pittsburg but was not too well received in Detroit.

"He went on to state that GORDON HASKILL has swung over to the majorities position but that HAL DRAPER, who he characterized as a mad man, still opposed it.

"[redacted] stated that DRAPER was not alone in his opposition, that at least three persons in the Phila. Branch were opposed to the majority position.

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"SCHACTMANN asked [redacted] on what basis did this opposition exist. [redacted] explained that he based his opposition on the fact that the majority excluded any attempt to try to reach an understanding on several basic differences between the I.S.L. and the S.P.-S.D.F.

"He pointed out that on the question of War, the S.P.-S.D.F. position was defense of American Foreign Policy even if it led to War and support of the U. S. in any War.

"This difference must be ironed out first, [redacted] said, befor unity, so that in the event the I.S.L. members united with the S.P. and then continued to oppose the S.P. position on War, they would not be accused of disloyalty to the S.P. S.D.F. or of attempting to split on this issue.

"SCHACTMANN asked what other points were in disagreement. [redacted] said that he was opposed to the majority proposal and he asked SCHACTMANN if he had been the author of the resolution.

"SCHACTMANN said that yes he had written the majority resolution. [redacted] said that then he felt free to attact SCHACTMANN's proposal on the grounds that the resolution as written was a fraud and instead of being a proposal for unity was in fact a proposal to take over the S.P.-S.D.F. by SCHACTMANN for his own purposes.

"He pointed out that the preamble was so ambiguously worded, the sentences about fourteen miles long, without any punctiation marks to guide the reader, so that the reader was unable to tell just what direction SCHACTMANN was trying to guide the party.

"He then pointed out that despite the proposals pious thoughts about the questions of splits or unity without any advance condition, article Three stated that in the event of unity, the S.P.-S.D.F. failed to heed the call for Socialist Regroupement, the I.S.L. would within five minutes of uniting, change the S.P.-S.D.F. policies in this matter.

"This, he stated, was nothing more than an announcement that SCHACTMANN intended to pursue the I.S.L. policies within the united groupe even if the action resulted in splitting the S.P. right down the middle.

"He said that after reading and rereading the majority resolution he could not help but agree with DRAPER's analysis.

"He conceeded that while DRAPER's analysis of the resolution was correct, that is that SCHACTMANN was misleading the majority as to his real purpose in seeking, he did not agree with DRAPER's conclusions. That is SCHACTMANN's reasons for misleading the majority.

"He continued by stating that knowing SCHACTMANN as an astute and sincere revolutionary socialist he gave him too much credit for intelligence to believe that SCHACTMANN was willing to disband the party to join up with a dead horse and await the comming of some millinieum where the American Working Class would be swept by a wave of Radicallism.

"SCHACTMANN was too smart a politician and strategist, continued [redacted], for that.

"But consider, on the other hand, the real possebility of War with Russia at any time within the now few years.

"Now in that event, where would we radical Socialist wind up? In an internment camp. But suppose we were safely imbedded in the Socialist Party? A party who had no responsibility in the War! What a political position that would be. No matter who won or lost, the economy of both would be ruined, the political parties involved would be destroyed. What a field day for the new Socialist Party.

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"While I am on the subject of misleading people, continued [redacted], what the hell are we doing in the Third Camp with a bunch of pacifist ?

"What is their value to us? No one knows better than you SCHACTMANN that the time will come when the Socialist will have to defend their principles against attact. If we are attacked with violence we will have to defend ourselves with violence.

"An here we are tied up with a bunch of yahoos who tell us at the start that they will not fight.

"I have experienced these kind of associates in the past, and believe me, it is not a happy experience. I like to know where my

"comrades stand when the chip_ are down and believe me if they won't fight for the cause I don't want them in the same party I am in.

"SCHACTMANN answered these attactswith the statement that we are politicians. This is something you must all hear.

A politician is a person who must always study the altarnitives.

"Now first let us see what is our objective? Our objective is to build a mass Socialist political party. Let us not forget this. Let us set this goal up there in the distance. Now the problem is, how to reach this objective goal.

"Is it possible to go in a straight line, or must we cross over to the other side of the room, or perhaps we must climb over a few tables or chairs, but no matter which alternative we choose, the right one is the one that takes us to our goal.

"Let us consider the actual alternatives we are now confronted with. There are no radical or parli_mentary Socialist Parties in existance in the U. S. today. Yesterday yes. Today no.

"Is the I.S.L. a mass political party. No, we are nothing but a proprogansf sect. Can we become a mass political party? No. Because we are a sect indintified with the Trotskyist movement. Also because of the A.G. List. Have we not got a good program? Yes. Are we not liked and respected and trusted in some tiny segments of the labor movement? Yes.

"Well why can't we grow? Our friends in the tiny segment of the labor movement give us part of the answer. They say our ideas are good, are comrades are hard, honest trade unionist_, but somehow or other we are identified with the Russians or we are suspected by the government of being subversive.

"Then again because of our theoritical differences we cannot attract new members from the other sects. And precisely because we are a sect and not a mass socialist political organization we cannot attract the million of potential Socialist members that this country abounds with.

"And there are litterly several million socialist minded people in this country looking for a mass socialist organization. Do you know who they are? You should, but if you don't, I do.

"Now there are about seven or ten different sects such as ours in the country and all but one of these sects have the same handicaps as us. All but one. The exception is the Socialist Party.

"Of all the Socialist sects in the country the S.P. is unique in its position of not being identified with some foreign ideaology nor tained with Russian Stalinism. It alone has a tradition and history of right wing or parlimentary Socialism. It alone is not suspected by the Labor Movement, it alone has the respect of Capitalism. Even though the Capitalist_ know that it is opposed to capitalism.

"Unlike the other sect_, it has no hard and fast formulas, no hard and fast position on Russia an_ it alone is completely democratic.

"Let us take [redacted]_s question on War. What is the S.P.-S.D.F. position on War? Within the ranks of the S.P.-S.D.F. you will find people opposed to all wars. Then again you will find people who while they are opposed to Imperialist Wars, they will support the U.S. in any War. Why is this? It is because the S.P.-S.D.F. has no position on the question of War.

"This is a further illustration of what I mean when I say that of all the Socialist Sects the S.P.-S.D.F. is unique. b6 b7C

"It has no hard, fast, formula for saving the world, no official position on any subject except that Capitalism has outlived its usefulness.

"As to [redacted]'s criticism on my fourteen mile sentences, he is right, all my sentences are long ones, but I don't agree that they are ambig_ous.

"I also think that he is wrong about the wording of Part 3. I don't believe the resolution states that within 5 mins. of our joining the S.P. we will change their minds about the necessity of Socialist Regroupement.

"[redacted] interrupted him at this point to insist that he was not wrong and quoted the sentence verbatim.

"SCHACTMANN continued to explain that there was no need for the I.S.L. to join the S.P. and formulate a split. He pointed out that with the alert, trained membership the I.S.L. had developed, they could at any time take over the S.P. without going through the formality of unity.

"All that would be necessary he said, was to assign I.S.L. members in the various cities to join the S.P. branches and in no time at all we would control these branches.

"But that is not the point. My plan is not to capture a few right wing S.P. members here or there. I am interested in getting those hundreds of thousands of Socialist minded people out in the woods.

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"Remember what I have told you. There are at least two million such people right here in the U. S. looking for a mass political socialist party. I know these people.

"I have met with the representives of these people all around the country on my tour. These people are the 90,000 former members of the C.P. with their one or two millions of sympathizers.

"This is what DRAPER can't seem to grasp and because he does not grasp this concept he he draws the wrong conclusions as to the intent of the majority resolution.

"[redacted]'s conclusion too is wrong. First of all because there will not be a major war over, between Russia and the U. S.

"The cold war will continue, with small outbreaks here and there around the world. I went out on a limb in 1956 when I predicted that there would be no war for the next 10 years.

"I was right then, for history was on my side. It takes longer than a generation to make the people forget the last War and inspire them to support the next one.

"I make the prediction that there will be no major War between

"Russia and the U. S. because once again history convinces me that such a war cannot be.

"Why? Never before has a weapon been invented or developed that makes War today a war against the citizens of any nation.

"What happened in Japan demonstrated beyond all doubt that atomic and hydrogen attact against the civil population, which destroyes the will to resist and the means to resist, can only result in total destruction to both sides.

"The governments of the world know this, and Russia and the U. S. have far too much at stake to accept such risk.

"They know full well there can be no victor in such a War and their leaders are far too clever to start one.

"I might add in passing that don't be too sure that membership in the S.P. would have any guarantee against internment if the government decided to intern all radicals.

"As to allowing pacifist Socialist to be a part of an all inclusive Socialist Party, remember that when you want to build anything you must use the material you can lay your hands on at the time.

"I agree that a Socialist will at some time be called upon to defend his position. But you must remember that even in a union, not all members are capable of defending their picket line.

"Those who will not carry on the defense of the union can still be depended upon to pay their dues. Perhaps in some cases unwillingly, but never the less they will serve a useful purpose.

"If and when I am forced to fight in defence of Socialism, there is going to be some fellow who I figure will fight as far as 13th St.

"Then there are others who will hold the line to 12th and others who will stick it out to 6th. I know these guys. I will plan my fight strategy on my knowledge of the material I have to fight with, saving my hard core of dependable fighters for the decisive battle.

"Yes we must understand that we must build with what we have at hand. If we can we will make our bricks of the best clay, but if needs must we will make them of mud, and pray that it don't rain

"No we are not proposing to hide during any fancied War, nor lay low till the next wave of radicalization sweep_ the Labor movement.

"No, our plan, and believe me, our plan is so good the S.W.P. is scared to death of it. Our plan is so good, even if it fails, it will still accomplish a great ____ of good.

"Our plan is simply to try to create an mass Socialist movement to attract the bulk of the former C.P. members and their sympathizer_ into our orbit.

"Now besides the reasons I have already outlined to you for unity with the S.P. bear this in mind. The S.P. is actually an empty shell, with the bulk of its leading comrad_s being around 95 years old. Now we too are an hollow shell, but with an important difference. Our leading comrad_s and our entire membership is young, vigorous and alert. Who do you think will spark up activities in the united party. Our trained comrad_s, who will arrange the programs, do the recruiting!

"I remember the last time we united with the S.P. in a matter of months we were running many of the branches. Among the conditions we had to agree to was giving up our paper and our magazine. But in three months, CANNON was elected to run the S.P. paper in Los Angeles. Guess what the paper was called. Labor Action.

"And that is when we took over ERNIE ERBER and his magazine. Just like taking candy from a baby. What do you think we could do with them now.

"No we have no intention of splitting the Party. It is too good a chance to take over the leadership in the U. S. of the whole radical movement.

"The S. W.P. accuses us of embracing Social Democracy and of offering to police our members to keep them in line. Of course we are embracing Social Democracy. That is what the American people

"want. A democratic Socialist Party.

"We are also ready to embrace parlimentary Socialism. if and when the time arise, we can loosen our embrace.

"As for policing our membership within the united party, of course we will. Don't we police our members in the I.S.L. and who does a better job of policing their membership than the S.W.P.?

"[redacted] asked how the members of the dissent groupe feel about this proposal. SCHACTMANN said tha t they were for it and would join the new groupe. b6 b7C

"He concluded his report by saying that the C.P. had shrunk from a party of 90,000 active members to about 9,000 members and that what was left of the party is being torn by the most vicious factional fighting.

"He reported that he has met with various leaders of these warring factions throughout the country and that they are electrified by his proposals of Socialist Regroupement an are ready to go along with the idea once the unity is completed and the united party starts it regroupement drive."

O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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TO: SAC (100-7121) 6/17/57

FROM: SA JOHN F. PHELAN, Jr.

SUBJECT: ISL
IS-ISL

On 5/31/57 [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, personally provided a written report to SA JOHN F. PHELAN, Jr. This report is maintained in [redacted], and reads as follows:

5 - New York (Registered Mail)
1 - 100-6680 (ISL)
1 - 100- (MAX SHACHTMAN)
1 - 100- ([redacted])
1 - 100- (SOCIALIST PARTY)
1 - 100-130507 (ATTEMPTS OF CPUSA TO FORM A BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION)

100-21059
100-49738

20 - Philadelphia
1 - 100-7121
1 - 100-32106 ([redacted])
1 - 100-35564 ([redacted])
1 - 100-28217 (JOSEPH DAVIDSON)
1 - 100-35512 ([redacted])
1 - 100-18711 (EARL GRAHAM)
1 - 100-31370 ([redacted])
1 - 100-42617 ([redacted])
1 - 100-38083 ([redacted])
1 - 100-21437 (MAX SHACHTMAN)
1 - 100-32731 ([redacted])
1 - 100-36296 ([redacted])
1 - 100-31456 (YSL)
1 - 100-15348 (SP)
1 - 100-33492 (SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITY IN COLLEGES HAVING ROTC UNITS)
1 - 100-40 (F O R)
1 - 100-41694 (THIRD CAMP)
1 - 100-42651 (ATTEMPTS OF CPUSA TO FORM A BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION)
1 - 100-2036 (SWP)
1 - [redacted]

Searched ___ Indexed ___
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6/17/57
FBI Philadelphia
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100-49738-146
SEARCHED ___ INDEXED ___
SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
JUN 19 1957
FBI — NEW YORK

JFP:MML
(25)

PH 100-7121

"I S L Public Meeting

"Sunday, May 26, 1957, the ISL and YSL held a public meeting at the St. James Hotel, 13th and Walnut Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.

"The speaker was MAX SCHACTMANN, Chairman of the Independent Socialist League. The subject Socialist Regroupement of the American Socialist Parties. The Chairman of the meeting was JOSEPH DAVIDSON of the ISL.

"There were about 30 persons present. The ISL members present were [redacted], JOE & [redacted] DAVIDSON, [redacted] and [redacted] and [redacted].

"The only YSL member present was MARTY OPPENHEIMER.

"Among those present were EARL GRAHAM, BURKHOLTZ, S.P., a friend of [redacted]'s, who works for Penn Ven_ilator Co., 10th and Westmoreland St., and a friend of his.

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"A groupe of youth from Temple, Penn and Haverford, three friends of OPPENHEIMER from N. Y., [redacted], ISL member from N. Y., the Friends Servic_ Groupe, a few Socialist Party members, and others who usually attend F.O.R. and Third Camp meetings. [redacted] & wife and a few friends.

"SCHACTMANN spoke for an hour and 30 min. reviewing the history of the S.P. and the other Socialist Groupes.

"He developed the theroy that up till the Hungarian Rev. the CP was the only real Socialist political party in the U. S.

"He outlined i_s hold upon the Labor Movement, the students, the intellectuals and even on the Democratic Party.

"He traced the growth in the minds of the socialist minded, that while capitalist U. S. was suffering depressions, Russia, a Socialist State, was enjoying work and prosperity. How all this reflected to the credit of the American C.P. he explained, was the fact that the C.P. was closely identified with the Russian C.P. and as the Russian C.P. demonstrated to the world that Russia was a successful Socialist

"State, the C.P. of the U. S. could also provide the people with a Socialist State when they came to power.

"But when the shocking admission of KRUSHEVE hit the American C.P. membership, of STALIN's betrayal of the Russian workers, his ruthless murders of political opponents, his enslavement of whole populations and his persecutions of Jews and other minorities.

"These things had been reported to the American people for years. But the American C.P. had so successfully persuaded its members and sympathizers that they actually thought these stories were propaganda created by the capitalist and counter revolutionary enemies of STALIN.

"KREUSHEV's denouncation of STALIN shook the party too its very roots. The C.P. had been able to brush of the repression by Russian Armies the uprising in East Germany, but this expose started the C.P. followes to wonder about the intregaty of their American leaders.

"And then came the thunderbolt. Poland had dared to rebel, and KREUSHEV and co. not STALIN now, showed their hand. A mailed fist. Even though the Poles managed to stave off bitter retaliation and get a few concessions, the tale of capitalist inspired revolt in Poland was not swallowed this time by the American C.P. members.

"For they had been so well indoctrinated by their leaders, that the satallites were happy and prosperous under Russia's control, that the uprising itself, followed by Russian concessions, proved, beyond a doubt, that all was not as their leaders would have them believe.

"This, followed so quickly by the Hungarian debecall, was enough to destroy the C.P. in America. Not only in America though, because in country after country through Europe and parts of Asia the C.P. was mortally wounded.

"Now we of the I.S.L. are concerned primarily with the effect of this on the American Political scene. Here is the greatest Socialist Party in the U. S. destroyed overnight. Its two million followers disalusioned and politically adrift.

"Its 90,000 membership reduced to a mear 9,000 and these torn

"by the bitterest factional fighting.

"Factional strif of such intensity that the C.P. can never resolve it. The blows so great that the C.P. can never survive them or hope again to become a political party of any stature in the U. S.

"What is left will break up into many small sects unless a new ideal can be created to weld all these socialist minded people together.

"The death of the C.P. has created a vacumn in the U. S. a political vacumn, which must be filled.

"The ISL knows that as much as they would like to do it, they cannot, neither can any of the other Socialist Sects. But one.

"The only one which has a chance to fill this vacumn is the S.P.S.D.F.

"This is the only groupe, with enough tradition, enough flexibility enough prestige in the American Labor and Negro Movements to even hope to fill this vacumn.

"This is what we of the I.S.L. believe. That is why we think that Socialist Regroupement can be achieved through the S.P.-S.D.F. and that is why we wish to unite with them.

"On the question and answer period.

"A member of the Socialist Party asked SCHACTMANN, in view of the fact that the American people are so indifferent to the present day S.P. and even to both the Demo. & Republican Parties, what makes him think a new S.P. can int rest them. He went on to point out that American High School and college students were a bunch of inconsiderate ignoramouas with no political concepts whsoever. He said that the S.P. was a successful political organization only when it was composed of Jews and foreigners. And that it lost this character 40 years ago.

"BURKHOLTZ, of the S. P.-S.D.C. ask SCHACTMAN N if the C.P. would be included in his proposed regroupement.

"A student asked SCHACTMANN, why, if this expose of KREUSHEV

"and the Russian Army's role in putting down the Bungarian Revolt; destroyed the C.P. in the U. S., it did not destroy it in Sweden, Great Britian, France and England?

"SCHACTMANN answered the first question by pointing out that the consideration of high school and college students as inconsiderate ignoramuses, without any political concepts was a personal opinion held primarily by people in the sunset of their lives.

"Fortunately, he said, I have not reached that state yet, because, he said, I have seen in my recent tour of the U. S. what I am seeing in the aduiance here to night.

"A very large number of young students, who are alert, intelligent and politically concious as their being here proves.

"As for the S.P. being a majority of Jews and Forigeners 40 years ago that is true, to some extent. But so was the American Labor movome nt of 40 years ago mostly composed of Jews and foreigners. That is in the east.

"But in the middle and the far West, that was not a Socialist Party of Jews and foreign born, no indeed, that was a Socialist Party of American born, first and second generation American workers.

"You had whole states cities and counties where the S.P. was the party in power. While in the east, the labor movement was chiefly composed of skilled craftsmen from Europe, the labor movement was based on the railroad workers, who made up the bulk of the S.P. Iowa, Oklahoma, California, Minnesota even Texas had strong S.P. branches of workingmen.

"And today, with over 17 million workers organized especially in the heavy industries, the heavy handed, unskilled workers, who do the hard, monotonust tasks of industry. There is our potential strength. Today, through their unions, they are allied with the Democratic Party.

"This is an anamoly, it cannot long endure, for the int rest of the capitalist and the worker in the Democratic Party are opposites.

"W_ether the labor movements takes over the Democratic Party, or goes through it and winds up with and Independent Labor Party, the result will be the same and it is here that a new, rebuilt and revitalized S.P. will be the pole around which the Labor movement center_.

"What are the conditions under which the I.S.L. lay down for unity with the S.P.-S.D.F.?

"None, absolutely none. There are but two things the I.S.L. would insist upon, however. While we do not consider them as conditions we do insist upon them as imperative requisit_s to unity.

"Equal rights and equal responsibilities for our members with the members of the S.P.-S.D.F. Equal rights to democratically advance our views on the policies and programs of the united groupe with equal responsibilities of carr_ing on our work in a united groupe.

"On the question of w_ether or not the C.P. would be permitted to join the new S.P. Let me put it this way. We would welcome any groupe or party who would agree to carry on the fight for Democratic Socialism in every country in the world.

"We would insist that they support Democratic Socialism in Russia and China with just as much vigor and enthusiasm as they do in the U.S.A.

"The question raised, as to the effect of those factors, which destroyed the C.P. in the U. S., and why they have not destroyed the C.P. in Europe and elsewere.

"I cannot truthfully say that the C.P. was ever a strong political factor in the Scandanavian countries, especially since the rape of Finland, Estonia and Latvia.

"However, take France and Italy where the C.P. was really powerful. Every day you can read in the press releases from these countries, the signs of the desolution of the C.P.

"Where is the C.P. in England today. A tiny minority that is daily growing smaller, Canada, India, Australia and New Ze_land the

"story is the same.

"In the course of his ad ress SCHACTMANN had said that one of the necessary requirements to Socialist Regroupement would be the freezing by all groupes, who desired to united, of theoretical differences.

"In response to question by [redacted] as to just what he meant by this SCHACTMANN explained.

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"One of the things that helped to split up the various Radical Parties into various sects was the therodical differences that arose. These differences have held the sects from reuniting in the past because they are unresolvabl .

"Why are they unresolvable? Human nature, few people want to admit they are wrong.

"For example if you believe that Russia is a workers state and TOM believes it is a degenerated workers state and I believe it is a Bureaucratic collectivist state and we have split from one party because of our belief, how can we hope to convince one another that your belief or his belief or my belief is right without first convincing the other two that they were wrong? We can t.

"Therefore lets us consider that which is more important, the building of a truly mass socialist party in the U. S. to deal with the problems of the American Workers or the right political concept of the Russia State?

"If, then, we can agree that the formation of a mass socialist political party in the U. S. is of primary importance let us stop talking about our theoritical differences and go to work.

"In fact, all our talking about our various concepts of the Russian Question have, in the past and will in the future, simply confuse and bore the American worker.

"We don t agree in theroy with the C.P. the S.W.P. the S.L.P. or even with the S.P. but with the task before us, we no longer can afford the luxury of being pure Marxist, Leninist, Trotskyites or any

"other theoritical purist.

"I am not a purist. I am a politician, who sees the task ahead of building a political party. Let us leave purity with the church and the young, and let us get on with our task of Socialist Regroupement.

"The meeting was a financial success. For the first time in a long while the collection covered the speakers expenses and the room rent."

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, CHICAGO (100-1840) DATE: 6-10-57

FROM : SA RICHARD M. KIRBY

SUBJECT: CHICAGO JOINT MAY DAY COMMITTEE
IS - ISL

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On May 8, 1957, [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished to SA [redacted] through a blind post office box a handwritten report concerning a joint May Day celebration which was held on April 30, 1957, at the Hamilton Hotel, Chicago, Illinois. This report is being retained in [redacted].

This report states that about 300 people attended this affair. In addition to the informant, the following individuals were present:

(2) - New York (Info.) (REGISTERED)
(1 - 100-)(NORMAN THOMAS)
(1 - 100-)(Socialist Party)

Chicago copies:
1 - [redacted]
1 - 100-27787 ([redacted])
1 - 100-24861 ([redacted])
1 - 100-30283 ([redacted])
1 - 100-32886 ([redacted])
1 - 100-21552 ([redacted])
1 - 100-20609 ([redacted])
1 - 100-21399 ([redacted])
1 - 100-27272 ([redacted])
1 - 100-28334 ([redacted])
1 - 100-24829 ([redacted])
1 - 100-24289 ([redacted])
1 - 100-24042 ([redacted])
1 - 100-21935 ([redacted])
1 - 100-20801 (SAUL MENDELSON)
1 - 100-25101 ([redacted])
1 - 100-33108 ([redacted])
1 - 100-31861 ([redacted])
1 - 100-30817 ([redacted])
1 - 100-18099 (YSL)
1 - 100-6512 (Socialist Party)
1 - 100-5305 (IWW)
1 - 100- ([redacted])
RMK:mks
(26)

Received by CG R/S 6/10/57

100-49738-147

SEARCHED ..... INDEXED
SERIALIZED ..... FILED
JUN 7 1957
FBI - CHICAGO

CG 100-1840

DALE DREWS
ERICA ENZA
PETER MEYER
DON ANDERSON
HAL CHARBANAU
JEANNIE HERRICK, nee Hargit (ph)
CARL SHIER
MAX WEINRIB
FRED and DEBBIE MEIER
DICK FREDERICKSON
BILL and JANE STONE
ROSE WEINRIB
BOB FERGUSON
SAUL and JENNIE MENDELSON
BARBARA HOZINSKY
RAY and NANCY AHEARN

HAL CHARBANAU, from the Socialist Party, was Chairman at the affair. Greetings were extended to those present by the following individuals for their respective organizations:

TOM SMITH, International Workers of the World

MAX WEINRIB, Independent Socialist League

NANCY AHEARN, Young Socialist League

DALE DREWS, Young Paoples Socialist League

The speakers for the evening were JOSEPH BRUMBERG (ph), who spoke in Yiddish; CARL SHIER, who spoke on the need of a labor party and socialist re-groupment; and NORMAN THOMAS, who gave his reasons why socialism was important in today's world.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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TO : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-17375) DATE: 6/18/57

FROM : SA [redacted]

SUBJECT: LOS ANGELES LOCAL - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (LAL-SWP)
IS - SWP

Source	Activity	Received	Agent	Location
[redacted], who has furnished reliable info in the past and whose identity should be concealed	17th Nat'l. SWP Convention	6/14/57	Writer	[redacted]

cc: 38 - New York (REGISTERED)
(100-4013 SWP)
([redacted])
(A. J. MUSTE)
100-126432 (SP-SDF)
100-210594 (CP)
(ISL)
(MAX SHACHTMAN)
(YSL)
(ASU)
([redacted])

([redacted])
6 - Newark (REGISTERED)
(100-1984 SWP)
(MAX GELDMAN)
([redacted])

2 - Chicago (REGISTERED)
(65-645 SWP)
(HOWARD MAYHEW)

(COPIES CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

Read by:

100-49738-148

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
JUN 24 1957
FBI — NEW YORK

Searched Indexed
Serialized Filed
6/18/57
FBI - LOS ANGELES

LRI:ARL
(98)

LA 100-17375

COPIES CONTINUED

3 - Philadelphia (REGISTERED)
(100-2036 SWP)
[redacted]

2 - Boston (REGISTERED)
(100-442 SWP)
[redacted]

3 - New Haven (REGISTERED)
(100-1191 SWP)
[redacted]

7 - Detroit (REGISTERED)
(100-1334 SWP)
[redacted]

4 - Cleveland (REGISTERED)
(100-1012 SWP)
(TED DOSTAL)
[redacted]

6 - San Francisco (REGISTERED)
(61-380 SWP)
[redacted]

8 - Seattle (REGISTERED)
(100-3864 SWP)
[redacted]

3 - Minneapolis (REGISTERED)
(100-1246 SWP)
(V. R. DUNNE)
(HENRY SHULTZ)

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[redacted]

100-23847 [redacted]
100-31033
100-29648
100-44714
100-31766
100-23349
100-49851
100-30389
100-29463
100-49365
100-29661
100-43269
100-54306
100-29649

On 6/14/57, furnished the writer with a hand-written report dated 6/7/57, which report concerned events occurring at the recently conducted SWP National Convention.

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orally advised the writer on 6/14/57, that instant report concerned events happening Sunday, 6/2/57, at the 17th National SWP Convention held 5/31-6/2/57, at New York City. The informant's report read as follows:

"17th NAT'L. SWP CONVENTION

"June 7, 1957

"Sun. 2:45 P.M. - 11. FOREIGN SECTIONS - DAN ROBERTS

"The bulk of this report was devoted to the reporting of the development of Re-Unity discussions with the Pablo elements & the International Committee of the 4th International.

"Recently the Pablo Group (The International Secretariat) has been feeling out the I. C. on reunity, stating that 'generous' representation would be allowed the I. C. groups if unity is effected. In the opinion of the I.C., Pablo means up to 49%. Whereas the I. C. is in control of all 4th Int. parties except for France & exiled elements who reside there, I. C. groups include Switzerland, England, Canada and scattered elements throughout Europe.

"Switzerland at present is a choice plum, since at present it appears that, in the German speaking area, at least 200. CP members will soon come over to the Trotskyists.

"The I. C. is cool, but open to proposals from Pablo's group.

"The Convention was asked to empower the new N.C. to advise, when requested, the 4th International on this question, Convention approved. The wording is necessary to imply that no connection exists between the SWP & the 4th Int. - to comply with U.S.Laws.

"However, as in the split, it is my opinion that CANNON's word, and 'advice', will determine the success & terms of these negotiations.

"12. CLOSING ADDRESS - J. P. CANNON

"The speech was devoted to praising the recent progress of the Party in the regroupment discussions.

"CANNON praised MUSTE highly for his stand & analysed other political tendencies as follows:

"SP - SDF - Diligent search of the country fails to turn up the 'Mass' of this 'Mass Organization.

"CP - Divided & in crisis with many good people moving closer & closer to the SWP.

"ISL - SCHACHTMAN is setting a record for 'hastening his own oblivion'.

"YSL - Must surely split, with many good elements inclining toward SWP.

"ASU - Standing by the sidelines recruiting 'quitters'. 'My experience has shown you can't build a movement with quitters.'

"With the two & three good people recruited here & there, and the influx of fresh blood, youth who are undefeated, not tired, full of life, the SWP is still destined to be the party that will overthrow rotten American Capitalism, & with this blow, lead the world on the road to the glorious Socialist Future.

"With the singing of the 'Internationale' the Convention was closed.

"A Farewell Cocktail Party was held at 116 University Pl.

"Those in attendance at the National Convention sessions & functions, whom I could identify were:

"Name	City	Status
FARRELL DOBBS	N.Y.	D.
BOB OWEN	"	V.
GEO. MYLAND	"	V.
MAURICE STEIN	"	D.
BEE	"	D.
RICHARD LYONS	"	V.
MURRAY WEISS	"	D.
ELAIN	"	V.
MYRA T. WEISS	"	D.
TOM KERRY	"	D.
KAROLYN KERRY	"	V. (Chairman Arrangements Comm.)
FRED HALSTEAD	"	V. (Sgt.-at-Arms)
HAYDEN PERRY	"	V.
ESTHER PERRY	"	V.
JOHN TABOR	"	D.
BURT	"	V.
DICK LOPEZ	"	D.
RONALD JONES	(At Large)	D.
FRANCIS NICKLAS	N.Y.	D.
NICK(JAMES)NICKLAS	"	V.
DAN ROBERTS	"	D.
LIL KEIZEL	"	D.
BOB CHESTER	"	D.
ANN "	"	D.
EVA E. FA LEE	"	V.
DUNCAN FERGUSON	"	V.
NORRIE (MORRIS)NICKLAS	"	V.
PRISCILLA	"	V.
JOE MORGAN	"	V.
YETROVISKY	"	V.
MAX GELDMAN	Newark	D.
CHEVY "	"	V.
SHERRY "	"	V.
& Husband	"	V.
JAMES KUTCHER	"	V.
DAVE WEISS	Phila.	D.
& Wife	"	V.
HOWARD MAYHEW	Chicago	D.
LARRY	Boston	D.
DAN MORGAN	New Haven	V.
ALICA "	"	V.
ALLEN TAPLIN	Detroit	D.
& Wife	"	D.
GEO. BREITMAN	"	D.
DOROTHY "	"	D.

"Name	City	Status
RITA SHAW	Detroit	V.
ART FOX	"	D.
TED DOSTAL	Youngstown	D.
JEAN SIMON	Cleveland	D.
BOB	"	D.
BILL KEIZEL	Oakland	R.
VIRGINIA FOSTER	"	A.
BILL FARRELL	"	D.
RALPH	S.Francisco	D.
JOAN JORDAN	"	D.
ANN	Seattle	A.
FRANK KRASNOWSKY	"	D.
CLARA "	"	D.
DICK FRASER	"	D.
JODY	"	A.
DAVE	"	A.
BOB (C.P.	"	D.
V. R. DUNN(DUNNE)	Twin Cities	D.
HENRY SHULTZ	"	D.
MILTON GENECIN	Los Angeles	D.
MITT SNIPPER	"	D.
CLYDE TURNER	"	D.
TYBE FRASER	"	D.
STEVE ROBERTS	"	D.
EVELYN NOVACK	"	D.
CARL FEINGOLD	"	D.
EDMOND KOVACKS(KOVACS)	"	D.
ARNE SWABECK	"	D.
J. P. CANNON	"	D.
MAE STARK	"	D.
PETER BUSCH(BUCH)	"	D.
REBA HANSEN	"	V.
TOM WILLIAMS	"	V.
WALTER ROSS	"	V.

"Further supplemental reports will be following."

ACTION: [redacted] orally advised the writer that the SP-SDF mentioned in above report referred to the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation; that the ISL referred to the Independent Socialist League; that the YSL referred to the Young Socialist League;and ASU referred to the American Socialist Union. Informant further advised that the individual identified only as "MUSTE" in the above report is in reality Reverend A. J. MUSTE, Secretary Emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.. Informant advised that the individual identified as SHACHTMAN in the report is in reality MAX SHACHTMAN of the ISL.

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Informant was thoroughly interviewed regarding this report and could furnish no additional information.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

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mto

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-24053) DATE: 6/12/57

FROM : SA [redacted]

SUBJECT: YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE (YSL)
IS-ISL

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SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, and whose identity should be concealed	YSL meeting 5/30/57, 3105½ South Vermont, Los Angeles	6/5/57	[redacted]	[redacted]

[redacted]

3 - New York (REGISTERED)
(YSL - 100-80693)
([redacted])
([redacted])
([redacted]) (- 100-79299)
(SWP)
(ISL - 100-6680)
(SOCIALIST PARTY)
(A. J. MUSTE)
(AMERICAN SOCIALIST FORUM)
100-29501 ([redacted]) (SI)
100-54915 ([redacted]) (SI)
100-47822 ([redacted]) (CI)
100-39811 ([redacted]) (SI)
100-41087 ([redacted]) (SI)
100-45069 ([redacted]) (SI)
100-29559 ([redacted]) (SI)
100-52149 ([redacted]) (SI)
100-44702 ([redacted]) (SI)
100-43506 ([redacted]) (SI)
100-24798 ([redacted]) (SI)
100-34189 ([redacted]) (SI)
100-24352 (FACTIONALISM)
100-52773 ([redacted]) (SI)
100-44703 ([redacted]) (SI)
100-39307 ([redacted])
JCO:nlb
(38)

100-49738 Kattin
100-21059 Social Dem. Fed.

5 - San Francisco (REGISTERED)
(YSL - 100-26954)
(ISL - 100-2397)
(SOCIALIST PARTY)
([redacted])
([redacted])
100-6214 ([redacted])
100-3476 (ISL)
100-17375 (SWP)
100-6768 (SP)
100-54816 (BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION)

100-49738-149

7-3

pmb pmb

7-3

Informant, present at the above affair, furnished a written report, dated 6/1/57, which reads as follows:

"June 1, 1957

"There was a meeting of the YSL on May 30, 1957, at 3105½ S. Vermont, Los Angeles, heavily attended by members of the ISL, which I covered. The speakers were TIM WOLFERTH of the 'Left Wing Group of the YSL' who came in from New York, and BOGDEN DENITCH, Field Representative of the YSL who has been on tour from New York.

"WOLFERTH declared a campaign was on against the Muste Forum. He said GEORGE MEANY of the AFL-CIO told a Negro Trade-Unionist to get out of the Forum if he hoped to have a future in the union. A Forum member in the San Francisco Bay area is supposed to have received a subpoena from Senator EASTLAND. He (TIM) continually attacked the right wing of the YSL and the ISL for not becoming a part of the Muste Forum. WOLFERTH said CARL BRADEN of Kentucky and others will remain a part of the Forum and will not be intimidated.

"WOLFERTH sat in on a National YSL Office discussion in re: the Muste Forum and was voted down in his opinion for YSL affiliation with the Forum. Nevertheless, WOLFERTH wrote a letter to the Forum asking and becoming a part of it and using as a signature that he was an officer of the YSL Left Wing Caucus. WOLFERTH said that one of the first steps toward regroupment is to carry on talks with the various people and organizations represented in the Muste Forum.

"A SECRET DOCUMENT from YSL National Headquarters was circulated at this meeting concerning WOLFERTH's particular action in regard to his joining the Muste Forum. It was withheld from anyone's eyes, but local members of the ISL or YSL.

"In time past there was a letter from DAVID McREYNOLDS discussing certain opinions of his on regroupment which were not to be made public, but were

"only for internal YSL discussion. Somehow the letter got into the hands of MYRA TANNER WEISS of the SWP and the Militant. DAN SHELLEY accused WOLFERTH's group publicly of being responsible for disclosure of secret YSL documents. WOLFERTH became quite excited and asked for evidence and wanted to know who would furnish such information to SHELLEY. BOGDAN DENITCH said that he makes the same accusation since he told SHELLEY. WOLFERTH asked for evidence. SHELLEY said that this is ridiculous, since no one could have been present when the letter was passed. SHELLEY remarked that he was not a member of the YSL, but JIM BURNETT said democratically he had a right to speak. SHELLEY further added when asked for evidence that this is not a court of law, but an organizational meeting where different rules of procedure are followed.

"SHELLEY was further incensed at the remark that WOLFERTH made in Vol. 1, No. 4 of the 'Left Wing Bulletin' concerning a police group within the ISL on page 35 near the bottom of the page where he states: 'SHACTMAN's counter-intelligence department'. SHELLEY asked WOLFERTH is he was an agent of the SWP and then stated what a miserable time Los Angeles is having since the SWP tactics with the Communist Party.

"LEE, WFA, [redacted] hair [redacted], [redacted], a representative of the SWP got up and in an emotional way took offense at the digs against the SWP. TED YUDCOFF arose to attempt to smooth over the situation. b6 b7C

"DENITCH defended the ISL-YSL ideas on regroupment with the SP saying that the ideas of the ISL-YSL will not be given up by joining the SP. DENITCH said that it was a good political move in order to attract the unionists and liberals into a strong American Labor Party movement. WOLFERTH countered with quotes from NORMAN THOMAS which were supposed to be against any people like ISL'ers. Someone countered that a joint May Day celebration was held in Chicago with the SP.

"The following were in attendance at the YSL meeting held on Memorial Day, 1957: BOGDEN DENITCH, JIM BURNETT

"who chaired the meeting, TIM WOLFERTH, Mr. and Mrs. SAM ROTH, Mr. and Mrs. DAN SHELLEY, Mr. and Mrs. JIM ROBERTSON from Berkeley, Mr. and Mrs. TED YUDCOFF, JOHN from Detroit, ED SCHAUP, the bearded fellow from Sierra Madre, JUSTIN GROSSMAN, CECIL COHEN, BLISS MALCOLM, and BERNIE SAPIRO.

"WOLFERTH said he hopes that no one is trying to cause a split and have either him or his group kicked out of the YSL, since that is a poor road to regroupment.

"He further said that in the years since the ISL started there have been members kicked out at least one in every two year period, and asked BOGDEN DENITCH if that were not true in his case."

On 5/23/57 informant had orally advised the writer that he had received YSL mail bearing a return address of [redacted], California, which informant believed to be the address of JIM BURNETT. b6 b7C

Action

The informant was thoroughly interviewed regarding this report and could furnish no additional information.

All necessary action in connection with the above has been taken by the writer.

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BW

Received Rec R/S Paid. 7/5/57

OFFICE MEMORANDUM --- UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC (100-7121) DATE: 6/28/57

FROM : SA JOHN F. PHELAN, JR.

SUBJECT: INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE
IS - ISL

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On 5/14/57, [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, personally provided a written report to SA JOHN F. PHELAN, JR. This report is maintained in [redacted]:

8 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - [redacted] 1 - [redacted]
1 - ALBERT GATES 1 - ISL
1 - A. J. MUSTE 1 - THIRD CAMP
1 - MAX SHACHTMAN 1 - SOCIALIST PARTY

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SEARCHED ___ INDEXED ___
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JUL 5 1957
FBI — NEW YORK

16- Philadelphia
1 - 100-7121
1 - 100-32106 ([redacted])
1 - 100-35564 ([redacted])
1 - 100-35512 ([redacted])
1 - 100-28217 (JOSEPH DAVIDSON)
1 - 100-31370 ([redacted])
1 - 100-1835 (A. J. MUSTE)
1 - 100-21437 (MAX SHACHTMAN)
1 - 100-42297 ([redacted])
1 - 100-32731 ([redacted])
1 - 100-42651 (ATTEMPTS OF CPUSA TO FORM A BROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION)
1 - 100-42939 (MARCH ON WASHINGTON)
1 - 100-9973 (NAACP)
1 - 100-15348 (SOCIALIST PARTY)
1 - 100-2036 (SWP)
1 - [redacted]

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JUN 28, 1957
FBI - PHILADELPHIA

JFP:kog;LRB
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"I.S.L. Meeting.

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"May 7-1957 Regular meeting of the Phila. branch of the I.S.L. at 703 Walnut St. Chairman, [redacted]. Those present, JOE and [redacted] DAVIDSON, [redacted] and [redacted]. Agenda, Communications, Old Business, New Buisness, Recess, Dues and Educational.

"Communications.
[redacted] announced that [redacted] sent in word that she no longer intended to come down to any more meetings for the following reasons.

"First the meeting room was so small, stuffy and depressing that she could no longer stand it, besides she felt the branch should make some effort to get a more suitable meeting place.

"Secondly she felt that the I.S.L. itself was carrying on a fruitless struggle to reach the people with an outmoded, unrealstic political philosophy.

"Third, she resented the attitude of some of the members, who could not carry on a political discussion in a small groupe such as this without conducting themselves in a manner one would use adressing a mass meeting of about 500 persons.

"And fourth, she resented the carping critism of some of the comrads and their habit of trying to make polemic's out of every utterance.
She announced that dispite this decision she would still pay her dues to the branch.

"This communication of [redacted]s was met with schocked silence.

"[redacted] commented that while he did not agree with these remarks he felt that [redacted] had a right to her opinion. He said that the members must of

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"course realize that [redacted] was a very sensitive person and the fact was that the meeting room was a depressing place. As for her opinion that some of the comrads were too critical or got carried away in political discussions was simply an indication that in this organization, like all organizations there was bound to be personality clashes, and that he had pointed this out to her, but she had remained obdurate in her decision to stay away from the future meetings.

'[redacted] asked [redacted] wether he felt that it could serve any useful purpose if [redacted] would be invited to a formal meeting to discuss her attitude or if it might be more fruitful if some of the comrads met with her informally and tried to have her reconsider her discesion.

'[redacted] said he was quite certain that [redacted] would refuse to attend a formal_____ the way she feels at the present time, he did not see any harm in some of the comrads approaching her on an informal basis, but he held out little promis of their succeeding in changing her opinion.

"JOE DAVIDSON stated that this was an highly irregular manner for a comrad to use in breaking with a Socialist organization, that sending a messenger boy, with such highly personal and political critisims of her comrads and their organization was both insulting an_ irrespondible.

"He continued that this was more than a fit of pique, or clash of personalities, but in reality a political critism of the I.S.L. and its members.

"Her remarks about the meeting room and the attitudes of the comrads was merly a smoke screen of her real political opinion.

"DAVIDSON conclude_ his remarks by stating that he could see no reason to discuss her message any

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"further in the branch while she remained away and moved that the branch move on to the next communication.

"[redacted] then said he had received a letter from AL GATES which seemed to be merely a copy of a letter GATES had sent to the comrads in Frisco answering a series of questions they had raised in regards to parcipation in a series of Foreums on the West Coast.

"The important point in this letter had to do with the position taken by A.J. MUSTI regarding the conduct all parties were expected to take in these Foreums.

"MUSTI's position was that as the main purpose of the Foreums was to acquaint the public with the meaning of socialism and the need for a Third Camp, no groupe participating in these Foreums should use them for attacting the programs or policies of any other parcipating groupe.

"This, GATES pointed out was contrary to the policies of the I.S.L. therefore the local branches of the I.S.L. could not parcipate in or take political responsibility for any such Foreums.

"The I.S.L. policy, in all public foreums, was to advance the cause of socialism and the Third Camp and to do this effectively it was necessary to attact any political Party whose program or policy was such that it would endanger the movement of the masses toward a real democratic socialist movement in the U.S.

"[redacted] explained that the letter was difficult to understand without knowing exactly the questions posed by the California comrads. He explained further that he was unaware of any series of Foreums being planned or conducted on the West Coast and he had read nothing about such a series in Labor Action.

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"He also pointed out that he was surprised at A.J. MUSTIES supposed position, pointing out that that this was not the position of CHARLES WALKER who is the vice pres. of the Third Camp in the U.S.

"Under Old buisness, [redacted] reported that the Third Camp May Day meeting was a success both as an example of unity in action between various Socialist tendencies and financially.

"[redacted] reported that the fund drive was over and that the branch fell short of its quoto by about $50.00.

"He also reported that the I.S.L. publication, the New International, can be found only in two places in Phila. On a newstand at 13th & Market and the libary of Temple U.

"He said he contacted the Logan Libary of the City of Phila. and was informed that they did not carry the magazine.

"It was pointed out that the U. of P does not have it in their libary either. He therefore proposed that we try to sell a sub. to the Logan Libary and the U. of P. and if they refused to buy, he would try to get them to accept a sub. as a gift.

"JOE DAVIDSON reported on the cavalcade or pilgrimage of prayer to Washington D.C. He informed the branch that the Phila. Branch of the N.A.A.C.P. was opposed to a car cavalcade and had chartered a train instead.

"Under New buisness, [redacted] reported that the branch would hold a public meeting at the St. James Hotel, with JAMES FENWICK as the speaker. He said the subject would proably be American Socialism in the past 30 yrs. The date would depend on what arrangement could be made at the St. James but he hoped to make it May 24 or 25th.

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"See note 'a'

"He also announced that there would be a closed meeting of the Branch at which time SCHACTMANN would talk on Unity. This is scheduled for Sat. June 1st.

"See note 'b'

'[redacted] pointed out that as the convention was drawing near and there would soon be a raft of bulletins comming into each branch for the consideration of the members, These bulletins would have to be considered and voted on by the comrads and a delegate and alternate would have to be elected. For this reason he suggested that all educationals be held in abayence until the convention. The comrads were agreeable to this suggestion.

'[redacted] inquired what provisions had been made regarding delegates, in the event there were a split in the branch on the proposed issues that the bullitins would raise, pointing out that in the Unity proposals alone there was division in the Phila. Branch.

'[redacted] said that in the advent of a split each split would be entitled to a delegate, therefore if two delegates were elected each would have one half a vote and so forth.

"Recess and Dues. Dues were paid by [redacted], JOE & [redacted] DAVIDSON and [redacted].

"In place of the Educational and branched then [redacted] opened the debates on the Unity Proposals. [redacted] was asked to start by reporting on the HAL DRAPER bulletin.

'[redacted] went back to the youth conference in Washington N.J. where SCHACTMANN reported on the move by the left Wing members of the S.P. to invite the

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"I. S. L. to unite with the S.P. & he pointed out that at this time SCHACTMANN's position was that while the I.S.L. was willing to discuss unity at any time they were not going to seek unity with the S.P. but would wait and see what move the S.P. would make on the issue.

"Then he pointed out that the next two bulletins took up the question of unity and indicated that the idea was agreeable to the I.S.L. but there were certain difficulties that must first be surmonted.

"Then he said the branch was confronted with the majorities proposals which superseded all other unity proposals.

'[redacted] went on to point out that he had complained at that time that the preamble of the proposal was both ambigous and confusing.

"He continued to explain that the proposal was contradictory and while stating in one paragraph that we would accept unity on any terms and guaranteed not to try to upset or usuper the S.P.-S.D.F. leadership or policy.

"But in the next paragraph the proposal states that if, after unity, the S.P.- S.D.F. still does not see its duty to re-organize or regroupe the various Socialist tendicies into a united Socialist Party, we can, with in five minutes, change the S.P.-S.D.F.s policy.

'[redacted] went on to say that this kind of thinking in his opinion, would not be unity but would actually be a move to destroy the S.P.-S.D.F.

"He continued by pointing out that the minority seemed to hold the same opinion as also did GORDON HASKELL in his bulletin.

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"All this had been in his mind until he read the DRAPER bulletin. This bulletin, especially its conclusion, he stated, caused him to go back and restudy the majority and minority resolutions. After evaluating all the facts that he now felt he understood, he had arrived at a different conclusion than DRAPER.

"[redacted] pointed out that DRAPER concluded that SCHACTMANN who had always been a Radical Socialist had no intention of changing his opinion even to attain unity. Despite this he had convinced the majority of the P.C. that unity with a right wing Socialist groupe would give the I.S.L. a place to lay low until the Labor Movement was swept by a wave of radicalization and then with the S.P. appeal to the right wing and liberal people in the U.S. The could move into the leadership of the new radicalized mass working class.

"[redacted] pointed out that this conclusion did not make sense. He pointed out that the next wave of radicalization or even the establishment of an independent Labor Party was so far in the future that it was quite likely the present membership of the I.S.L. would be dead or disbanded.

"But there was another element that they all had seemed to over look.

"That was the possibility of War between Russia and the U.S. What do you suppose would happen in that event? Would not it be logical to assum that the government would intern all members of all the American Radical Parties?

"Would not former Radicals be safer if they could prove membership in a right wing Evolutionary Socialist Party?

"And regardless of the outcome of such a war, would not the economy and political stability of the combatants be in chaoes?

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"And would not the people be more willing to turn to a political party that was not connected with either of the capitalist or communist, who had no responsibility for the war policies.

"Which do you think will come first? Radicalization of the Labor Movement or War?

"This was met by DAVIDSON pointing out that [redacted] didnt grasp the real concept of the majorities proposal, he said that both DRAPER, HASKELL and now [redacted] had fallen into the same error.

"They are overlooking the point that since the Hungarian debacle the C.P. was torn assunder. They had no place to turn. The I.S.L. was too small to influnce them but if the S.P. was ameanable to Socialist Regroupement the disappointed C.P. members would have some place to go.

'[redacted] pointed out that he was for Unity, but not until there had been an agreement reached on certain points. Such as the S.P. position on the comming War.

"I.S.L. participation on all leading committees and the right to push for the I.S.L. program in the S.P.

"[redacted] and then DAVIDSON went on to discuss how much the S.P. today is an all inclusive party. How the questions [redacted] posed might cause the S.P. comrads to decide that they had better reexamine their own position on these question_ and this might take years.

"In the course of this discussion DAVIDSON said that he was for unity now and had advocated unity as far back as the Johnsonite split in the Workers Party.

'[redacted] challanged this statement and so did [redacted]. [redacted] asked when DAVIDSON wrote any bulletins or advocated such unity at a W.P. convention.

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"DAVIDSON said he had not spoke__ of this at a convention nor had he written a bulletin on it but he had constantly advocated it in Branch meetings.

'[redacted] pointed out that he too had participated in the Johnsonite split on the same side as JOE, and had never heard JOE speak at any branch meeting proposing unity with the S.P.

'[redacted] agreed that while JOE had not written any bulletins or spoke at the convention on unity, he had heard DAVISON say that he had favored unity.

"As the discussion progressed, [redacted] stated that he would advocate unity with S.W.P. rather that the S.P.-S.D.F. if the S.P. refused to discuss an organization or policy change.

"The discussion grew so heated and the hour so late [redacted] demanded adjurnment. This was agreed to.

"Note 'a' Public meeting May 26th at St. James Hotel when MAX SCHACTMANN will discuss, 'Socialist Regroupement._

"Note 'b'. Private meeting at [redacted]s home June 1st. where JAMES FENWICK will discuss History of the Socialist Movement in America for the past 30 years."

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-4013) DATE: 6/26/57

FROM : SA [redacted] (#7-3)

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
IS - SWP

Source [redacted]
Reliability Who has furnished reliable information in the past

Information Furnished Open debate between MAX SHACHTMAN and MURRY WEISS, 5/24/57

Date Received 5/29/57
Received By SA [redacted]
Location [redacted] (Attachment)

1- [redacted] (P&C) (7-3)
1-NY 100-85923 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1-NY 100-115760 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1-NY 100-7388 (FARRELL DOBBS) (7-3)
1-NY 100-129862 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1-NY 100-84574 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1-NY 100-111313 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1-NY 100-115857 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1-NY 100-84617 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1-NY 100-117643 ([redacted] LNU) (7-3)
1-NY 100-106192 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1-NY 100-49788 (SOCIALIST PARTY) (7-3)
1-NY 100-80679 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1-NY 100-118388 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1-NY 100-117461 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1-NY 100-93735 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1-NY 100-93935 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1-NY 100-88179 ([redacted]) (7-3)
1-NY 100-25903 (MAX SHACHTMAN) (7-3)
1-NY 100-6680 (ISL) (7-3)
1-NY 100-4013

GPB:pam
(21)

IM- 49738-150

SEARCHED..... INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED..... FILED.....
JUN 26 1957
FBI - NEW YORK

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furnished, as set forth above, a written report covering a debate held at Central Plaza, Second Avenue near Seventh Street on 5/24/57. Individuals to whose file a copy of instant memorandum is being disseminated could be identified from the informant's report as present at this function, based on previous photograph display or by description furnished, with the exception of (LNU), described in the informant's report as a new comrade.

advised SA orally on 5/29/57 that was approximately age , , pounds, average build, straight black hair, , dressed like a white collar worker. The informant was instructed to attempt to learn the full identity of (LNU).

The informant's report reflects that WEISS attacked SHACHTMAN for claiming that the SWP was out to steal members. WEISS said that the SWP had published their views and asked where SHACHTMAN's were. WEISS also said that the SWP was the only party that had a program and, in criticizing the so called democracy of the Socialist Party, asked what was democratic about the Socialist right-wing expelling 7,000 members who supported the Russian Revolution? WEISS also asked what was democratic about Democrats who supported Capitalism?

When SHACHTMAN took the floor, according to , he urged that the realities be examined, saying that the United States had the mightest labor movement in the world. He said there was a Socialist movement before World War I and II, but that there is no comparable movement now and that the leadership of the Socialist Party was at a low ebb. SHACHTMAN pointed out that since the death of STALIN and the Hungarian Revolution, Stalinist Russia had become identified with Imperialist Terrorism. The collapse of the supporters of the Soviet was said by SHACHTMAN to have encouraged the Socialist movement, which had been divided in the past on difficulties over the Russian question.

SHACHTMAN said that the SWP was working subtly these days and although its approach had a lot to recommend it, there was one fatal defect. This involved their position in regard to Russia and this view of the SWP means postponement of Socialist unity indefinitely according to SHACHTMAN. SHACHTMAN said that "we" support the workers everywhere even those that are in Russia and "we" believe in a free speech and a free press. He said that the Communist Party had collapsed as a movement and that "we" wanted to cut "ourselves" loose.

In WEISS' reply to SHACHTMAN, he seized upon the remark "we wanted to cut ourselves loose" as the only true words that SHACHTMAN had said. WEISS referred to long explicit articles written by SHACHTMAN, himself, in years gone by, to get at the truth of the matter. WEISS again attacked the lack of democracy in the Socialist Party, who, he claimed, allowed no other group to present its views. WEISS said it was an unworthy question that SHACHTMAN asked if during a war will "we" be for the Soviet Union? WEISS said that "we are clear on that." Yes! We are for the defense of the Soviet Union against Imperialist agression." WEISS went on to say that a revoluntionary Socialist takes exactly the same position in regard to all colonial people.

WEISS later said that Leninism meant telling the truth to the workers and again asked what SHACHTMAN's political views and line was. WEISS went on to say that he spoke in hostility to Stalinism, but expressed his belief that the Russian question was the biggest question in the radical movement today.

SAC (100-7121) 6/26/57

SA JOHN F. PHELAN, JR.

INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE
IS - ISL

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On 5/14/57, [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past, personally provided a written report to SA JOHN F. PHELAN, JR. This report is maintained in [redacted] and is set out as follows:

"What is really behind the Socialist Unity program?

"The mention of unity with the S.P. in so far as the entire membership is concerned, it seem to me, was a discussion led by SCHACTMANN at the summer session of the youth in Washington, N.J.

"At that time SCHACTMANN stated that a left wing groupe in the S.P. were going to raise the question at the comming S.P. convention.

"This groupe were in favor of the S.P. and the I.S.L. getting together to discuss the possibility unity between the two groupes.

4 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - 100- ([redacted])
1 - 100- (MAX SHACHTMAN)
1 - 100-6680 (ISL)
1 - 100- (SOCIALIST PARTY)
3 - Philadelphia
1 - 100-7121
1 - 100-5348 (SOCIALIST PARTY)
1 - [redacted]

JFP:kog;LNB
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FILE STRIPPED BY ... ON 5-3-73

100-49738-152

"SCHACTMAN, at that time stated that he was not seeking unity with the S.P. and that he had no intentions of seeking unity at that time.

"He stated that he was not opposed to the idea of discussion Unity with the S.P. or for that matter with any other of the Socialist or even Communist parties.

"He stated then that on the part of the I.S.L. there were certain principles that we would stand on in any unity discussions with any party.

"Among others he said one principle that the I.S.L. would insist on was equal and democratic rights of all members of the united parties.

"He said that as long as these principle were guaranteed he would not ask for any other consideration.

"Speaking of the S.P. he said if the S.P. voted to invite the I.S.L. to unite he would not ask NORMAN THOMAS or DARLINGTON HOOPES or any other leader in the S.P. to give up any of their positions, even if they were in a minority of the Socialist who opposed unity with the I.S.L.

"He went on from there and gave a long history of the Radical Socialist movement in the U.S. and his central theme was that the biggest mistakes made in the past were the splits that were allowed to develope along with the unity moves whose prime motive was to capture either and entire party or the best elements in such party.

"He assured his listners that this was one tactic the I.S.L. must abhor and put out of their mind in the event the I.S.L. united with any of the other Socialist groupes.

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SCHACTMANN laid emphis on one other point. The I.S.L. is not seeking Unity. But are willing to discuss it with anyone.

Socialist Unity Resolution #1, is an outline of SCHACTMANNS position as of Oct. 22, 1956 and was adopted by the P.C. as the I.S.L.s official position regarding the question of Unity with the S.P.

In the next resolution, Socialist Unity Res. #2, headed, Proposed statement of Policy and sub headed On Socialist Regroupement. Adopted unaminously by the P.C. of the I.S.L. Dec. 24, 1956.

Here we have a new idea proyected into the question of Socialist Unity. The I.S.L. is now ready to discuss unity with all groupes of radical or evolutionary socilist parties or sects.

The new aim of course being to try to build a whole new Socialist Movement in the U.S. The two main points to bear in mind here are that first the I.S.L. takes the position that no groupe would be excluded in advance from consideration as part of this new socialist regroupement in this movement in this country because of its past political position or affiliation. The important thing will be their position they take on the question of democracy in both the Communist and capitalist camp concretely today.

The next point being the new movement would have to maintain the best socialist traditions of internal democracy, including all rights of minorities to express their opinions.

Then an intresting paragraph is slipped in. 'The policy toward groupes such as dealt with above must not be regarded as being in contradiction to the resolution adopted by the P.C. on the question of unity between the I.S.L. and the S.P., nor can any

If our activities or relation to such groups is of such a nature as would impede the achievement of unity with the S.P. on the basis indicated by the P.C. resolution.

Now here is a new twist. Nowhere in P.C. resolution #1 is there any outright talk of pending unity with the S.P. For there is no such thing as pending unity. There is only our indication to discuss such a unity with the S.P. but as a basis for a lasting regroupement of all Socialist forces.

Here in Resolution #2 the P.C. goes another step further. They urge the inclusion of the S.P. in all discussion on socialist regroupement and we also urge the S.P. to participate in the regroupement here.

The obvious conclusion here is that so far the S.P. made some statement, some time, to some one in the I.S.L. that they, as an entire organization, might be intrested in Unity with the I.S.L. if the I.S.L. does nothing or treats with no other party that the S.P. is opposed to.

And on the other hand that the S.P. is being barred from the discussion by some other groups or groups on the one hand or is not intrested in socialist regroupement on the otherhand.

But in the next to last paragraph there is a key to that new twist. 'The participation of the S.P. would be exceptionally important in avoiding a Stalinist tinge to any socialist regroupement.'

The next bulletin headed, 'Memorandum on our perspectives and orientation in the matter of Socialist Unity.' This Memo. adopted by a majority of the E.C. of the I.S.L. Feb. 2, 1957. By majority vote of the P.C. this Memo. supersedes all other previous statements on socialist unity.

The first two pages of this document down to the paragraph numbered 1/ points up the fact that the Labor movement and the Negro movements in the U.S. have grown to great strength without the Radical Socialist having any hand in them.

This leads the ISL to the point that unless and until certain things take place in these movement, there is no foundation in them for a genuine Socialist movement in the U.S.

Therefore the only course we have to follow is to try to establish a frame work of a new Socialist regroupement within the frame work of the old S.P. which is still considered by the working class and the right wing of the American liberals as a good Socialist Organization not connected with any foreign ideologies.

Section #3 of the Memo in effect now states that as this is the case, the I.S.L. must unite with the S.P. at all cost and under any conditions laid down by the S.P.

It goes on to say in effect, if the S.P. does not recognize its obligations to rebuild the Socialist movement by regroupement, then the I.S.L. who will be on the inside will arouse or awaken it to its duty.

Paragraph 4/ outlines the point that it will be a long time before events take place in the labor movement, the exact words being, 'The present period is a long interlude between the last radicalization have and the one to come.' And states that within the S.P. the ISL could build its strength, that is of the regrouped Socialist movement, that will be least able to help the working class in its further economic and political progress and be assisted in

"turn by the most concious members in its ranks who join and build the Socialist Wing of the labor movement.

"The next bullitin issued at the same time headed 'P.C. Minority Report' on Socialist Unity,' is offered as a substitute for the sections of the P.C. majority Memo, from point 3 on.

"This is an out right contradiction to the Majorities position and as a whole seem to be a more practical approach to the whole question of Socialist Regroupement and Socialist Unity.

"This was followed by a bulletin outlining the opinion of GORDON HASKELL and titled, 'For a Healthy Socialist Unity. In this bulletin he analyses the majorities position and exposes certain weakness in this position.

"He points out that while the I.S.L. is a small sect, it is an active sect to the left. On the other hand the S.P. especially since it united with the S.D.F. the bulk of the leadership is more intrested with fusion with or into liberal movements to their right than they are for regrouping the socialist movement for a new beginning in America.

"He points out that the S.P.-S.D.F. reputations and tradition make it possible to be the frame work of a new regroupement. But only if the membership and leadership can be brought to realize or understand, accept and act to bring about such a regroupment.

"He follows by stating that the ISL and the S.P.-S.D.F. are nothing but small propagand groupes. In the event of a merger they would still be too small propaganda tendencies or sects. And the political problem involved is not the problem of functioning as a left wing Socialist tendencies in a

"Bass right wing Socialist Party, but of the coexistence of two propaganda groups of equal side under the same organizational roof.

"We then cut lines the basis upon such a groups could be brought about to work in harmony. In essence both must understand each others position and respect their rights at all times to work for that position.

"We criticize the majorities position that they are read to accept the S.P. S.D.F. program now, as it is, as the program for a united party.

"They oppose any suggestions to the S.P.-S.D.F. that we discuss this program or negotiate on it. As the S.P.S.D.F. may then refuse unity. The majority says let it wait till we are in.

"It is argued that if the ISL can get into the S.P.-S.D.F. on 'any basis,' five minuets after we are in, we can change the program of the party as we will. Such an assertion is utterly misleading. No one wants to unite with the S.P.-S.D.F. and then split it.

"If the S.P.-S.D.F. leadership is not willing to negotiate with us on any basis whatever, if even we want to talk about perspectives and programs would end all discussion with them, what would their reaction be if, after they had been convinced we were utterly harmless and despite their their suspicions and misgivings had been cajoled into looking the other way while we crawled in the back door, what, if after five minuets, but after five months, we began to press for programatic changes?

"Obviously this could only lead to disaster. The real meaning of such unity would be a prolonged [illegible] on our part, broken only for the purpose of

PH 10[illegible]

Policing any of our people or others who might be suspected of being our people, who might raise their voices to demand such a change.

The bullitin titled, Meaning of Schactmann, 'Socialist Unity.' by HAL DRAPER. I think does a good job of breaking down the confusion created by the first three bullitins and the Minority position and [illegible]ELLs plea for a Heathful Unity.

He clarifies the problem and draws the following conclusion.

SCHACTMANN has no intentions of repudiating his views, as to the real role of the I.S.L. but sees nothing wrong in bonding, fitting, filing, rubbing them down, carving, trimming them or putting them into cold storage so as to be intriguing as good dogs with the S.P.

The majority think of this perspective as a means of lying low until the hoped for radicalization or politicalization of the mass labor movement, that is laying on the shelf, or in semi-hibernation after which (they maintain) the S.P. will blossom and flower since it has that indespensable right-wing appeal.

You will note that DRAPER says first that there can be prospects of the I.S.L. raiding, splitting or trying to control the S.P. if they unite with the I.S.L. because SCHACTMANN wont permit it.

He also infers that SCHACTMANN, while he is willing to unite with a right wing socialist groupe, will still be a revolutionary socilist at heart.

He points out that fact when he states that SCHACTMANN has no intention of repudiating his vows.

He then points out that the majority thinks differntly. They really think that what SCHACTMANN wants is a place

They lay low until the labor movement has reached a point of political maturity, and then under the guise of right wing socialism they can aspire to control the new labor movement and lead it into a Radical Socialist movement.

Is this a logical conclusion on DRAPER's part? Yes if we consider all the facts.

Let us take fact no. 1. What are SCHACTMANN's roots? SCHACTMANN has been a member of the Left Wing Socialist Movement since he was a youth. In the Communist Youth and in the C.P. he was to the left of the majority. He was a Trotskite.

When the C.P. split and as each segment of the split, splitted again SCHACTMANN was still left wing in every split.

I think this should convince anyone that SCHACTMANN is a dyed in the wool left wing socialist.

Fact no. 2. SCHACTMANN is very astute. Any man who can make a living as a left wing radical must be astute. And that is, to the best of my knowledge, how SCHACTMANN makes his living.

Fact no. 3. How long will it be before the radicalization and politicalization of the American labor movement will be achieved? Four years, eight, ten, or possibly not in the next twenty years.

Fact no. 4. How long can capitalism and Communism avoid the ultimate show down. Total War?

Who knows, when even a spark in the middle east or any part of the globe could touch it off despite the best efforts of the most able diplomat on either side.

Fact no. 5 SCHACTMANN's health. HAX is supposed to be suffering from a very serious heart ailment which,

"If nothing else, threatens to end his career in the foreseeable future.

"Point no. 6. In the event of a war between Capitalism and Communism what would the first logical step be for the U.S. to take? Obviously, intern all Radical Socialist.

"It is probable that total war would result in economic and political chaos to both sides with no winners.

"Or again there is the possibility that one side or the other might win but the same result would obtain economic and political chaos.

"In either event, would not an astute man such as [illegible] is, feel that the safest place to be would be in a right wing socialist party?

"That, he would be protected from internment on the grounds that he was no longer a radical.

"After the war regardless who wins, he is then in a position to appeal to the masses politically on the grounds that he was not identified with either the Capitalist political Parties nor the Communist Party who would bear full responsibility for the War."

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The informant's report, as set out above, was prepared in order to get a summary of the unity proposals of the ISL with the Communist Party as interpreted by [redacted] from information obtained at ISL meetings in Philadelphia.

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Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 4
Page 51 ~ Duplicate to 100-NY-49738-Serial 109, Pages 3-6
Page 52 ~ Duplicate to 100-NY-49738-Serial 109, Pages 3-6
Page 53 ~ Duplicate to 100-NY-49738-Serial 109, Pages 3-6
Page 54 ~ Duplicate to 100-NY-49738-Serial 109, Pages 3-6